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VOL. XV. No. 9.

BOHN IN SAN DIEGO

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY'S NATIONAL ORGANIZER HOLDS SUCCESSFUL MEETINGS.

Opens The Eyes of The Wage Workers to the True Significance of Trades Unionism—Indicates Foreboding Big Revolt in Favor of Industrial Organization—Carpenters Turn Down Gompers.

[Special Correspondence.]

San Diego, Cal., May 18.—National Organizer, Frank A. Bohn, arrived here last week and held four successful street meetings. The straight Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance principles, clearly and ably expounded by Comrade Bohn, were listened to with the closest attention by the large audiences which assembled to hear him each evening.

Industrial unionism was explained by the speaker to be the basis of the Socialist movement; the working class today were not capable of carrying on the industries of the nation by reason of not being organized on sound principles in the economic field; that industrial organization on correct principles was necessary to drill and educate the working class in self-imposed discipline and class-consciousness—two essentials necessary for their emancipation; that industrial unionism was the rudimentary form through which the industries of the nation would be carried on by and for the working class and the Socialist Republic established. The speaker explained that a political organization alone was like a man trying to walk up hill on one leg; that the conquest of the political power was a means to an end, the end being the organization and establishment of the Working Class Republic—the co-operative commonwealth.

Comrade Bohn explained clearly the capitalist nature of municipal and government ownership, stating that such schemes were of no benefit whatever to the working class, and were only advocated by the middle class and "half-baked Socialists."

The speaker showed the character of the old-fashioned, back-number, "pure and simple" American Federation of Labor, pointing out the fact that under that form of organization the workers had been led to defeat after defeat for the past fifteen or twenty years; that instead of organizing the workers in class solidarity it split them up in a struggle of craft against craft.

The members of the "Socialist" party here recently received an object lesson in the futility of "boring from within" the pure and simple trades union, during the municipal election. The Federated Trades and Labor Council of this city (A. F. of L.) is, as elsewhere, run by the labor-leaguers of the capitalist class, who show their utter contempt for the rank and file of the working class and their interests. As elsewhere, they are up to their necks in the rotten politics of the capitalist class, doing the bidding and furthering the interests of that class inside the union. Their tactics are of a nature which shuts the open, above-board, decency and honesty which characterize true working class interests and politics. The "politics" of these labor fakirs consist in "discussing the interests of labor" (1) with the politicians of the capitalist class in dark hallways, behind doors, or in the offices and residences of the exploiters of labor and their henchmen. One of those fakirs has just been "recognized" (2) by being appointed on the board of public works by the recently elected mayor for "services rendered" in misleading the rank and file of the working class. This is the same fakir, who with other members of the "committee" recommended for endorsement one of the two capitalist candidates running for mayor, and turned down the "Socialist" party man, who is a member of the Carpenters Union. The "committee" published a circular, and a statement to the public through the press, announcing their endorsement with the intent and purpose to deceive the working class into the belief that the "committee's" endorsement was the endorsement of the Federated Trades. The Federated Trades repudiated the "committee's" endorsement for mayor (apparently!) publishing a statement in the press, over the signature of the president and secretary of that body to that effect, but also turned down the trade-union candidate of the "Socialist" party. The fakir who has been "recognized" for his dirty work is the same chao who said in a statement

in the "Sun," April 3, 1905, that "in his (Allen's) opinion, the 'card Socialists' of the Federated Trades are not working for the best interests of organized labor," etc. Look out for more "recognition" (1) of labor. There are other lieutenants of the capitalist class in the Federated Trades to be "recognized" for services rendered to the CAUSE OF CAPITALISM. But a new order of things is near at hand. The "borders from within" have learned a practical lesson by experience; and "the ramblers and smashers from without" and "borders from within" (as that traitor to the working class, Gompers, calls them) will soon be engaged in the "delectable work" of organizing a union for and by the working class.

Comrade Bohn's short stay here resulted in much good work being done in the way of clarifying the minds of the progressive rank and file of the working class on sound principles of organization, the whole basis of the labor and Socialist movement being exhaustively treated. Many questions were asked concerning the new industrial union movement, and when the meetings closed many came to the speaker to talk matters over and get more detailed information regarding industrial organization. Many stated they had never looked at the matter in the light presented by the speaker before, and recognized the time was ripe and the interests of the working class demanded such organization.

The meetings were well attended by members of the "Socialist" party, who purchased considerable of our literature and a number subscribed for the "Weekly People."

Two hundred pamphlets were sold at the four meetings and 23 subscriptions to the Weekly People secured.

The heaven of industrial unionism is working among the rank and file of the "pure and simple" unions here as elsewhere, and all indications foreshadow a big revolt in favor of the true union of the working class. The Carpenters Union recently voted down Gompers' instructions on the Western Federation of Miners, and sent \$10 to that body at Denver.

Thus the long and hard fight begun by the Socialist Labor Party in organizing the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance in 1895, at a mass meeting in Cooper Union, in New York City, is still going on and gathering body and momentum, and the principles of the class struggle, upheld by the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, will, beyond doubt, be the basis of the industrial union launched at Chicago on the 27th of next June, which ultimately means the downfall of fakirism and the "impure and simple" capitalist union in this country.

F. N. TUTTLE.

MORE ORGANIZERS IN FIELD.

Olson and Williams Added to Bohn, Katz, Dillon and Gilhaus—Others to Follow.

Last week The People had the pleasure of reporting that beginning June 1, four Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and Socialist Labor Party organizers, namely, Bohn, Katz, Dillon and Gilhaus, would be in the field, and predicted that ere the summer was over more would follow. To the foregoing list Comrade Arvid Olson should have been added. He is now touring the New England States under the auspices of the Scandinavian Socialist Labor Party Federation. As for the prediction, Comrade B. H. Williams is to undertake a three-months' tour of the Western States, beginning at Butte, Mont. The State Executive Committee of New Jersey is busy raising funds to start an organizer and party press solicitor on a tour of that State. Minnesota has made a request for speakers. Other States are bound to get the contagion. The times are ripe for it. Industrial Unionism and class-conscious working-class political action are in the air. They must find expression and organization through and in the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party.

OHIO STATE CONVENTION.

Sections and members at large in Ohio: The State Convention will be held at Columbus on Decoration Day, May 30. The proceedings will begin at 10 o'clock a. m. sharp, and delegates should be prompt in attendance.

Fraternally,

James Rugg, Sec.

The convention will be held at Fraternity Hall, 111 1-2 South High street. Reasonable accommodations can be had by delegates at either the Star or the American House. Open air meeting on convention night at Broad and High streets. If weather is bad in convention hall. The public invited to both convention and meeting.

Arrangement Committee.

THE FAMILY

CAPITALISM DESTROYS IT AND BREEDS PROSTITUTION.

Soup Houses and Day Nurseries Substitutes for the Household—"He-Towns" and "She-Towns" and Their Immoral Results—Capitalist Community of Wives.

The labor of woman in productive pursuits betokens the total destruction of the family life of the workingman, without substituting for it a higher form of family relationship. The capitalist system of production does not yet generally destroy the single household of the workingman, but robs it of all that is bright, and leaves only its dark side. The activity of woman to-day in industrial pursuits does not mean to her freedom from household duties; it means to her an increase of her former burdens by a new one. But we cannot serve two masters. The household of the workingman suffers whenever his wife must help to earn the daily bread. What present society puts in the place of the individual household and family which it destroys, are miserable substitutes: SOUP HOUSES AND DAY NURSERIES, where the offals of the physical and mental sustenance of the rich are cast to the lower classes.

Socialists are charged with an intent to abolish the family. We do know that every system of production has had a special form of household, to which corresponds a special system of family relationship. We do not consider the existing form of the family the highest possible nor the last utterance upon the subject; and we do expect that a new and improved social system may yet develop a new and higher form of family relationship. But to hold this view is a very different thing from striving to dissolve all family bonds. They who DO destroy the family bonds—who not only mean to but who in fact DO destroy them right under our own eyes—they are, not the Socialists, but the CAPITALISTS themselves. Many a slaveholder has before torn husband from wife, and parents from grown-up children; but the capitalists have improved upon the abominations of slavery; they tear the suckling from the breast of its mother, and compel her to intrust it to strangers' hands. And yet a society in which hundreds of thousands of such instances are of daily occurrence, a society whose luminaries promote "benevolent" institutions for the purpose of making easy the separation of the mothers from their babes, such a society has the effrontery to accuse the Socialists of contemplating the abolition of the family simply because they, basing their opinion upon the fact that the "family" has ever been one of the reflexes of the system of production, foresee that further changes in that system must also result in a more perfect system of family relationship.

Hand in hand with the accusation on the subject of the family bond goes the accusation that Socialists aim at a community of wives. This charge is as false as the other. Socialists, on the contrary, maintain that just the reverse of a community in wives, and of sexual oppression and license, to wit, ideal love, will be the foundation of matrimonial connections in a Socialist Commonwealth, and that pure love can only prevail in such a social system. What, on the other hand, do we see to-day?

The irrational system of modern production tears the sexes apart. It builds up SHE-TOWNS in New England and HE-TOWNS in the mining districts of Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, and the further West, thereby directly promoting and inciting prostitution as a natural and inevitable result. Furthermore, helpless women, forced to earn their living in the factories, shops and mines, fall a prey to capitalist cupidity; the capitalist takes advantage of their inexperience, offers them wages too slight for their support, and hints at, or even brazenly refers them to prostitution as a means of supplementing their income. Everywhere, the increase of female labor in industry is accompanied by an increase of prostitution. In the modern State, where Christianity is preached and piety is at a premium, many a "thriving" branch of industry is found, whose workingwomen are paid so poorly that they would be compelled to starve unless they prostituted themselves; and wonderful to say, in such instances the capitalist will ever be heard to protest that these small wages are indispensable to enable him to compete successfully in the market, and to maintain his

establishment in a "thriving" condition.

Prostitution is as old as the contrast between rich and poor. At one time however, prostitutes constituted a middle class between beggars and thieves; they were then an article of luxury, which society indulged in, but the loss of which would in no way have endangered its existence. To-day, however, it is no longer the females of the slums alone, but WORKING women who are compelled to sell their bodies for money. This later sale is no longer simply a matter of luxury, it has become one of the foundations upon which production is carried on. Under the capitalist system of production, PROSTITUTION BECOMES A PILLAR OF SOCIETY. What the defenders of this social system falsely charge Socialists with, is the very thing they are guilty of themselves. Community of wives is a feature of capitalism. Indeed, such deep roots has this system of community of wives cast in modern society that its representatives agree in declaring prostitution to be a NECESSARY thing. They cannot understand that the abolition of the proletariat implies the abolition of prostitution. So deep are they sunk in intellectual stagnation that they cannot conceive a social system without community of wives.

But be it noted, community of wives has ever been an invention of the upper layers of society; never of the proletariat. The community of wives is one of the modes of exploiting the proletariat; it is not Socialism; it is exact opposite of Socialism.

HAMMER BLOWS.

(From The Sydney, Australia, People.)

Orthodox science does not want to abolish poverty, it only concerns itself how to save the capitalists from the logical Nemesis of their own creation—the profit system.

True social science (Socialism) will abolish poverty by abolishing parasitism, and converting the parasites into decent citizens who will soon see how delusive a notion it was to think that they were the employers of labor. They will be given the most convincing proof that human necessity is the real employer by having to work up their own sap or going hungry to bed.

Socialism has nothing to do with religion. A man can believe what he likes about the future or about a supreme power, but should he attempt to force his views on others or in any way to try to interfere with, or hamper the social or economic freedom of others, he must be treated as an enemy and stamped out with as little remorse as any other vermin.

Saving in the mean capitalist sense means starved bodies, starved minds, and stunted development. Starved soil, which has been denied by its "saving" owner those elements necessary to healthy production, produces the dank, pestilential and poisonous crimes, meannesses, treacheries, hypocrisies, hatreds, strifes, and cowardliness that distinguish the present from all other ages, and all this because a handful of people own the earth and all that it contains, and who recognizing that the only possible method of increasing their wealth is by pinching the bellies and stunting the brains of human beings vie with each other in every country and clime as to who shall "save" most out of the human body. Blind as bats are they to the fact that Nemesis in the shape of a rapidly falling market is bringing "ruin" to themselves and to the whole world with giant strides. "Whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad," and the name of this madness is profit, saving, thrift.

True thrift is the consuming by human beings of the whole product of their toil, thus building up healthy bodies, high mentality, pure morals, and a clean wholesome environment, in which social and individual virtues will grow, and in which vices will wither and die for want of nourishment. This, of course, cannot be until the whole people own the earth and the tools of production. The ballot will bring it.

BOHN'S CALIFORNIA ITINERARY.

Sacramento, 24th-30th.
Reno, Nev., May 31st to June 2.
San Francisco and surroundings, thirty days.
San Jose and surroundings, ten days.
Eureka, ten days.
Definite dates for last three later.

THE SOUTHWEST

PRODUCES THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKINGMAN PAR EXCELLENCE.

Oldest Section in Country Rich Physiographically and Economically—Now in Turmoil Over Modern Proletarian Questions—National Organizer Frank Bohn's Impressions and Experiences.

Tuolumne, Cal., May 18.—Taking into consideration all those characteristics which enter into the making up of a "Section," the great Southwest is the most interesting portion of our (1) country. As to territory it includes Texas and the Mexican possessions of 1848-1853, nearly a million square miles in all, or about one-third of the area of the United States proper. Physiographically, it is as diversified as the continent. Vast grassy plains, endless deserts, mountains where winter reigns perpetually, and fertile valleys covered with a profusion of tropical verdure,—are all included.

Historically, the section deserves close study. It was the first part of what is now the United States to be extensively settled by Europeans. The exploration of New Mexico occurred in the early part of the sixteenth century and settlement followed in the latter part. In the old Spanish church of Santa Fe the Brothers of the Christian schools point with pride to old paintings which were pierced by Indian arrows during an attack on the town more than two centuries ago. Near this church is what is reputed to be the oldest dwelling house erected by Europeans in the United States—a low adobe hut, the soft walls of which would not outlast five years of New England rains and frosts.

The Spaniards pushed their settlements beyond the highest mountains and across the loftiest deserts. While on the Eastern coast the English and Dutch traders were constantly stirring up wars against the Indians, the Spaniards usually lived in peace with them, developing a school system for them, and converting them to Christianity. And so they lived for several sleepy centuries.

Then came the change, as all things change,—even the length of trousers,—during the period of the French Revolution. When Napoleon conquered Spain the ruling case in Spanish America, of course, refused to recognize the suzerainty of the "atheistic revolutionist." When "order" was re-established in Europe, it became evident that the microbe of revolt had invaded even the drowsy old adobe towns on the Rio Grande, the Colorado, and south to the La Platas. Mexico became "free" just in time for the next act of the great historic drama.

Not long since, some old women appeared to be very much shocked at the "entry of the United States into world politics," in a word, "expansion." They had not reflected that the history of the United States can be interpreted only as one long series of "expansions," about which central figure the scientific historian systematically groups all other political phenomena.

It occurred that in 1830 the Slavocracy of the South needed new territory, and for two reasons. In the first place, new slave territories must be secured to offset the free territories which were clamoring for statehood in the North. In the second place, good new land is a possession precious to the human heart, be the social system what it may; and the slave system was wasteful of land. So bands of adventurous Southerners entered Texas. When they numbered a few thousands it was time to "strike for liberty," declare their independence, and apply for admission as one of the United States. In 1844 Polk was elected on an "expansion" platform by Southern influence and Texas was admitted the next year. It was the chief cause of the Mexican war which followed.

Lucky strike! Just as our capitalist government in 1898 took the Philippines for "civilization's sake," so the Slavocracy in the forties seized, beside Texas, all of New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, Utah, and part of what is now Colorado and Oklahoma, nearly a million square miles in all. When Alexander the Great conquered the East, or William the Norman seized England, they both took their spoils, and that was the end of the matter. Our own dear country, however, has always "paid" for its seizures. In this case,

it gave Mexico \$15,000,000, or two and one-half cents per acre.

And so the population of the Southwest consists of successive strata, beginning with Indian and Spanish, and topped off with Chinese and Italians. In a gambling den or on a street corner in Arizona at a Socialist meeting one can see, beside these, Negroes, white people from "The States," and representatives of all the nations of Europe. The Romance peoples never were particular about color or the matter of a pure racial type. The superintendent of the government school for Indians at Santa Fe called a twelve-year-old boy to show me about the place. "From what tribe is he?" I asked. "Half Pueblo," said the superintendent. "And the other half?" He held up his hands in despair. "How am I to know?" In its final amalgamation this people should be most versatile and cosmopolitan.

Industrially, there is but one Far West. It includes every Rocky Mountain and Pacific coast State, with British Columbia and Northern Mexico. Throughout this vast region, half as large as Europe, there are mines being worked, ranches improved, railroads a-building, and irrigation plants being developed. There is much less difference in climatic conditions in the West than in the East. Montana probably differs less from New Mexico than New York from Virginia. The worker may spend his winter in the mines of Arizona or Sonora. Until the coming of spring he cuts timber in the hills. Then, perhaps losing his job because some evening he climbed on a pile of logs and made a Socialist speech to the boys, he takes a notion that sea air would be good for his health and ships at San Pedro for the Columbia River country. If he gets mixed up in a strike in Washington, or lands in a "bum town" in British Columbia, he sets out for pastures anew. And few workers are there in the West who have not made these rounds. If he ever settles down to enjoy the felicities of domestic life, it is some time, when well along in years, he runs afoul an old lady who is keeping a rooming house and wants a man about to "do chores" and save her reputation.

Readers of The People will remember Comrade Stromquist's excellent article on "Industrial Arizona." He has described the West, that is the real West. Nebraska farmers differ little from those of Ohio or Maine. Minneapolis has little to distinguish it from Buffalo. But the West of the Rocky Mountains and Pacific coast is producing a unique type of workingman. He is the Workingman of the Revolution, par excellence.

One may search in vain for the picturesque frontier population still described by New York "hen-coop" magazine stuffers. Barbed wire is cheaper than cowboys, even if more prosaic. The erstwhile puncher is tending bar or "digging mud" in a mine. Bear hunting is now engaged in by those who, like our brave President, can take along a score of dogs and a dozen hired men to treat the bears. It is most amusing to go into a beautiful public library in some Arizona town (Carnegie's name is omnipresent), pick up a current magazine and read about the "wild and woolly West." None of the half-dozen great cities of Ohio contain such beautiful library buildings as Pueblo, Col., Tucson, Ariz., or Riverside, Cal. Pasadena, Cal., with a population of 10,000, has fifty millionaires. This is more, probably, than there are in an average town of 200,000 in the East. In the sense in which the term is used in the East, there are few "country people" in the West. An average ranchman, sixty miles back from the railroad, is cosmopolitan in thought and experience. In the fruit belts, population is often as dense as in the suburbs of a city. Above all, everybody moves about. Stagnation is thus impossible. Here there can be no such stolid conservatism nor narrow-minded provincialism as characterizes the public mind in the South or Far East.

The effect of this powerful social fact upon the Labor Movement we have already touched upon. One very notable effect is that at Socialist street meetings there are twice as many listeners and four times as many buyers of literature as in the East. On the other hand, it is much harder to develop and maintain an organization. At Bakersfield I sold 185 pamphlets in three days. But when I talked to a small group about organization, one was going elsewhere soon, two or three had just "drifted" into town and didn't wish to join at once. Others felt that as much (Continued on page 6.)

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PRICE TWO CENTS 50 CENTS PER YEAR

WOOD CARVERS

DISPLACED BY MACHINERY START COLONY TO PERPETUATE THEMSELVES AND THEIR ART.

One Machine Enables a Green "Hand" to Become an Expert in Two Weeks—Another is Invented That Does Away With Polishers and Finishers—"To the Woods" for the Hand Workers.

Some persons are still old-fashioned enough to cherish an aversion to an article of furniture that is put together with glue, or a piece of wood carving that is done by a soulless machine that carves as long as the power runs, all the same pattern, until the man in charge shifts the design and starts another pattern going, says a contemporary. To them it will be welcome news that a colony of skilled workmen, disgusted with the era of machinery in commercial life, have retired to a pretty country spot called Rose Valley, near Moylan, Penn., and have there established themselves for the purpose of perpetuating the arts and crafts that are threatened with extinguishment through the deftness of the modern machine.

Ruined themselves, it was not inappropriate for these exponents of decaying arts to select for their future homes and principal workshops a spot which was for the most part in ruins itself. The principal workshop has been erected on the site once occupied by a mill, the dismantled walls of which afford a shelter to the walls of a workshop. Besides this workshop, there is an old stone building that has been turned into a pottery, a row of cottages for the workmen and an old fashioned inn—that is known as the Guest House.

All the men at the colony are of foreign birth. Among the skilled woodcarvers is James Rigoulet. Here is his story:

"I came to America twenty-one years ago, to make my living as a skilled woodcarver. For several years there was plenty of work at fair wages, with living cheap. Then, one day, a strange machine was brought into the shop and I was asked by the boss to set it going. All I had to do was to follow a pattern already marked out, and a piece of carved wood, or what looked like it, was the result. Then I was set to work to teach a new man how to run that machine, and in two weeks the fellow could do it as well as I could, though he had never carved a bit of wood in his life.

"From this time forward we woodcarvers had either to run machines or get what work we could at finishing off and polishing the product of the machines, for it was not long before every shop had them. Of course the machines could do twenty times the amount of work that our hands could do. They turned out so much in excess of the market demand that dull times became frequent and work scarcer.

"This was bad enough, but worse was to follow. About two years ago another kind of the machine was invented—just about that time I came to Rose Valley to live. Now would you believe it? This machine does away with hand carving altogether. It does everything—finishing off and polishing included. We woodcarvers have a strong union, but what can the union do for us now? The men say they can't get work—that times are dreadfully dull—but the employers are not finding things dull. The machine kills the man—that's the truth."

It is the belief of the men at Rose Valley that there will always be a demand for hand wrought articles, and that this demand will more than repay the efforts of the members of the little colony. A pottery is the latest addition to the workshops at Rose Valley.

ENDORSE ADDRESS.

Buffalo, N. Y., May 19.—At a special meeting of Local Alliance 399, Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, resolutions were unanimously adopted, endorsing Daniel De Leon's address on the Chicago Convention.

Henry J. Bork, Org.

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The Real World

Written for The People by Karl Magnus.)

Thomas Carter and Charles Keliha live in one of the Twin Cities. They were school chums at school, where they shared each other's joys and sorrows, and play, and together ran the amateur of boyish mischief and youthful folly. The greatest cause of their friendship was probably that they shared also their life's highest ambition, namely, "to see the world." This had been held of them very early. Just then and in what manner neither could remember; but, as the years passed, it developed from desire, to passion, from passion to mania. Mentally they would explore cities, states, countries and continents. In imagination they visited every early historic spot on earth, and their hearts responded to the joys and sorrows of the human race. When, however, in the midst of their enthusiasm they would realize that they were still in the banks of the Mississippi, they invariably consoled themselves with: "We shall see it all some day!"

Charles' folks were as poor as the proverbial church mice, and his own wages, when grown up, barely supported him. Yet he "hoped", but what his hopes were he could not himself have told. Tom's prospects were built upon a slender basis. His father died while he was yet in his teens and left him some property. Tom banked his share. When he was through school he held a position as bookkeeper at a good salary and by this time his project had such hold on him that he managed to have his bank account increased year by year. So time rolled by and the two chums were nearer thirty than twenty.

One evening, when they met as usual, Tom told Charles that "the women at home" would give him peace no longer but insisted that he should marry and settle down and hence, as he could do neither until he had seen the world, it was his intention, as he had money enough to take him through, to start as soon as he could get ready, Charles' excitement was intense while Tom made his preparations and he realized that he would be mercilessly left behind, as in his case, no more than in Micawber's, did anything seem ready to turn up.

The appointed day came, at last and as there was no other way, Charles took a jolly good-by of his lucky chum when he left for New York in a Pullman car. But that same night there was consternation in Charles' home. The

cause was a rough note, which stated that they should not wait for supper for him, as he had hired out to a railway company and was about to be shipped out West, where he meant to work his way in the world. The two friends lost track of each other at once, nor was either much heard from at home. Presumably they were too busy seeing the great world!

After nearly three years Tom returned. That he had squandered every penny he possessed every gossip in the neighborhood knew; but what he had seen and done in the world no one ever found out much about, as Tom was no longer the frank, open fellow of his youth. His money had gone to the world and to the winds had gone his happy disposition. Despondency had taken its place. He worked not; but lived at home and spent the days walking miles very fast, speaking to, or recognizing nobody, always keeping his eyes on the sidewalk. The children called him "Mad Tom", and his story was told at every hearth as a warning to boys and girls to be satisfied with their lot and not hanker to go out in the world to play gentlemen and ladies.

Again the years rolled by. One day when Tom was out for one of his "mad runs" along the avenue a merry voice suddenly rang out:

"Hallo Tom, old boy! Lucky meeting! How are you and how is the great wide world? Tell me all about it!"

It was Charles home for a short visit from his quest of the wonders of the world. He had dropped his satchel on the sidewalk and was shaking Tom's hand with both his own. Such hearty greetings Tom's madness could not withstand.

"The world," said he scrutinizing his old friend with his keen, dark eyes, "it is a disappointment from zone to zone. The cities are all like our own; long hard streets that make your feet ache, high brick walls that make your eyes ache, rushing, bustling, pushing throngs that may your brain ache. The museums are full of 'wonders'; but when you have seen one you have seen a hundred and the wonder gives place to monotony. Ruins and other places of history and scenic notoriety are exploited by sharks and the life depicted in the books is buried with past generations. In Switzerland, I saw hard submissive toilers; and the spirit of Wilhelm Tell and Arnold Winkelried is but a myth. The midnight sun impressed me as a ghost of the old Viking spirit long since

vanished from the Northern Lands. Rome, where so many proud spirits have dwelt in days of yore, is infested by beggars, submission, filth, superstition, mockery and corruption. Greece is not even a shadow of its glorious and inspiring days. The mummies of Egypt have been too long dead and the pyramids are as dumb as common cemeteries. The Holy Land is the home of pillage, race, rascality and crime. Everywhere the same sameness. Do others or they will do you' is the great motto of our great world. Hindustan, China, Japan, Australia, the Pacific Islands, everywhere the same temper has penetrated. The world is a great banking house! A commercial institution! A mad stock exchange!

"While one nation may excel a little in one thing another does in another, yet shake them all up and you would not know which is which. It is loathsome to me! It bores me! I assure you, Charles, the great world we used to long for is but a chimera. The life and lustre put into the books either never existed or vanished with the great struggle between barbarism and civilization. It went down with Marathon, Chalon, and Tours; and now this blessed trumpeted civilization has unified countries and continents and the glory of the ancient world no longer exists."

"Doesn't it?" cried Charles, whose excitement had increased to fever heat during Tom's speech. "I tell you it does! But I realize what is a mis with you. You went as a traveler and paid your money to the world's sharks for guiding you to escape 'the world' and you have thoroughly escaped it."

"Museums! mummies!—fiddlesticks! is that the world? You have looked at houses, streets, ruins, mountains and waterfalls! Is that the world? You have visited peoples and nations, seen their fabrics and the color of their hair and skin! Is that life? Was that what used to inspire us? Never! In imagination we lived their life, fought their struggles, that was why the world so charmed and inspired us."

"But I tell you, all that exists no longer," roared Tom with an angry impatience at his old chum.

"Doesn't it? I tell you it does!" said Charles, picking up his satchel from the sidewalk. "Let us walk on. Listen! I left home when you did, rather I ran away. I did not go as a traveler. Penniless I was shipped along with other human chattel to work on a railroad in the West. I have seen the World too; at

least I have seen the country pretty thoroughly from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Cape Nome to the Gulf of Mexico, and I have not only seen this world but I have lived in it! I have experienced the life of the American people and a wonderful life it is, I assure you, Tom.

"Listen," continued he, "I will tell you of the world you have escaped, for while you have been chewing at the hard shell of the world and found no nourishment in it, I have found the kernel and it is rich and nutritious."

"Why did we find such glory in the Pyramids? Not merely because they are huge blocks of stone; but because every inch of stone piled upon another represents the sweat and toil, the misery, abuse, starvation, suffering and slavery of a race! Because forged with them and as indestructible as they is the sagacity of that People that was to endure forty years of life in the desert in order to win their promised land; the people that for twelve centuries have been without a country and yet have played and are playing a great part in the world's destiny. But did pyramid building cease when Moses led his people out of Egypt? Have you gone to Egypt to look at pyramids and missed those that are being raised at home by your own enslaved fellow countrymen? Listen Tom, every inch of stone, steel, wood and other material in our modern buildings, bridges, railroads, ships, engines, machines, etc., represents the sweat and toil, misery, starvation, blood, bone and marrow of the slaves of to-day. Tom, I have seen these modern slaves work in the open sun while it was over 100 degrees in the shade until they would drop in the street perhaps dead or paralyzed for life. In the railroad camps men drudge for a pittance that barely keeps soul and body together. In the logging camps men work in wet and cold and filth that defies description. In the mines men dig and dive and delve, shut away from the invigorating sunshine and forced to inhale poisonous gases from morning to night. In the factories I have known women to work under such physical sufferings from untold causes as could never have been surpassed by the female slaves of the far East. Throughout the length and breadth of the land but perhaps most particularly in the cotton mills in the South, I have seen one kind of lavery that no ancient slavery could equal—namely, modern child slavery! Aye, Tom, actual baby slavery! Upon these py-

ramids, these mountains of modern grandeur, is forged the character of the race or rather the class that in the near future is destined to accomplish the grand struggle for humanity's final emancipation.

"Have you been at Calcutta, Tom?—Yes?—so have I. At least I have been in 'the black hole of Calcutta' and it is a marvel I came out alive. I worked in a Wyoming mine somewhere over a year ago when it exploded and 338 men died instantly or through the subsequent suffocation. Past history is tranquil compared with the thrilling pages of to-day. Of course, you have been at Thermopylae? Do you think that all the brave Spartans perished there? No, my boy, the world is full of them. Several millions are facing death at any moment upon our industrial battlefield."

"And you mourn because the great struggle between barbarism and civilization is over? Perhaps, but the great struggle of Progress continues! In that struggle the grandest act yet remains to be played. It is the grandest because it is the final one in the brute struggle for existence, the closing struggle between slavery and freedom, between the world's workers and the world's shirkers—it is the modern class struggle! There is a fermentation going on in our world of to-day as great as in Babylonia during the prophetic days of Daniel, as in Athens when Demosthenes thundered forth his Philippics, as in Rome when the voice of Cicero stirred the populace in the Forum, as in France during the memorable days of Robespierre, Danton and Marat."

"And do you think, Tom, that the persecutions that used to so arouse our anger against tyranny, and our sympathy for struggling humanity are ended? The cross, the fatal cap and the pyre have been abolished; but execution and prison do yet exist and what is worse—the whip of hunger and loss of employment. I have seen Nero's cruelties in Idaho, the Proscriptions of Sulla in Colorado and the Spanish Inquisition on every latitude and longitude in the land."

"And it is not only America that is thus disturbed by violent activity but the entire world has felt its passion. The greatest Marathon, Chalon and Tours are yet to be enacted. The coming days will contain more life and action than all the past from the days of Nebuchadnezzar to those of George Washington."

"Come with me, Tom, I will introduce you to the grand world of to-day—The Real World—which you so far have missed."

Is Capitalism Immortal?

(Thomas H. Jackson, member Socialist Labor Party, Buffalo, N. Y., in May Typographical Journal.)

In reading Brother Maloney's latest article in "The Journal," entitled "No Hope for Socialism," I am again struck by the same lack of argument and logical reasoning that has characterized his previous letters upon the social problem. To me, the presentation of views upon the problem compared with which all others are subordinate, and submitting them to the judgment of the working class, a class which, judged by its works, is by far the most intelligent in society, in such a haphazard, prophetic and conclusion-jumping manner, is altogether deplorable.

For example: "Capital is only saved labor," is a juicy piece of information thrown out for the delectation of men who labor—but have no capital. This barrenness of argument seems to impair the intelligence of the many thousands who read our "Journal." The intricate mechanism of a watch would be beautifully exemplified in this sentence—a watch is only saved labor; yet capital, intricate and complex, so intricate and complex that Ricardo, Adam Smith and all other political economists, down to (or up to) Karl Marx, devoted their whole lives to its analysis. From a standpoint of mere correctness, let's look at this definition superficially, a little less superficially than does Brother Maloney. Mother earth, the God-given land, from whose bosom man by his labor wrings his existence; is it "saved labor?" Is the unworked mine "saved labor?" Yet who will deny that the natural resources are capital? There seems to be a rift in the late of our critic's economy. To the shallow student such a position upon the social question may appeal and be accepted as a finality, but the workingman who earnestly and honestly seeks the truth will reserve his final judgment until he has submitted the question to these several tests: History, scientific research, political economy, every-day experience and common sense.

Let's look a little closer into this definition: "Capital is only saved labor." Whose labor? Saved by whom, him who labors? Aye, there's the rub. Apply the test of every-day experience to the question. The labor of the wage worker enters the shop when the worker goes to work. Does he save that labor? Hardly, he sells it—for wages. But it is saved. Who saves it? The capitalist who bought it. But all of it does not become capital. Some goes to brother capitalist landlord, some to brother capitalist banker for interest, some for raw material (past labor), some to supply the wear and tear of machinery, etc., some to employer's account in abstemious living (\$25,000 for a poodle), the rest becomes new capital—saved labor—to be later invested in labor-displacing machinery which will leave fewer capital-saving wage workers to sell their labor power. So we see that a certain part of capital is labor—saved by the capitalist.

Brother Maloney makes this chivalrous statement: "Ninety per cent. of the capitalists perform useful labor." (Is the ninety per cent. from the census, too?) And 'tis true; the labor of the counterfeiter is useful—to whom? The counterfeiter, of course. Apply the test of every-day experience and common sense to this. Take a representative industry, not your little 2x4 concern, for the cockroaches have been gobbled up these ten years by the trusts; take your Douglas, for instance, in Brother Maloney's own state, the so-called Socialist smasher. Look in his factories. Men, women, and little children making shoes—saving capital—over them are foremen; over them superintendents; over them managers, assistants and general. In the offices, where not a shoe is handled nor a machine touched, are more workers. What are they all doing, these latter? Are they the muscles and sinew of industry? For shame, Brother Maloney! Admit that your class has brains; admit that their brains are necessary to capitalist production, while the ninety per cent. of seething mammoth intellects are either enjoying the fruits of

the workers to the utmost, or are at the state and national capitals busy legislating or buying up legislators to legislate in the interests of the truck horses of industry, and incidentally tabling their eight-hour and child-labor bills or declaring them unconstitutional. Every day experience teaches us that the functions of the capitalist class is distinctly apart from direct or indirect production of wealth. True, many of them are called directors, directors who do not direct, like the home-guard generals who do not command. Although he is of no service to society to-day, yet the capitalist is of immeasurable value to future society, for, as certain as twelve points make a pica quad, just as certain is the capitalist organizing and centralizing the industries to the point where the useful producers of those industries may lay hold of them and collectively own and operate them for the benefit of all who labor, as they are to-day collectively operating them for the benefit of those who do own them. How and by what means of brigandage this work of organization of industry is being carried on, Lawson and many others have fully shown. Without this work of the capitalist the Socialist would be an absurd dreamer. Ply your spade industriously Comrade Rockefeller, that capitalism may have a decent and speedy burial!

The capitalist system had its birth in the middle ages, during the golden age of labor, when the tools of production were so simple and cheap as to be within reach and ownership of the worker. Being master of his tools, he was master of his product and master of himself. Yet the development of the tool into the gigantic machine of to-day divorced the worker from his means of wealth production and consequently from his liberty. Machinery and division of labor so simplified production that the skilled mechanic was replaced by the cheap, unskilled labor of the woman and the child, leaving the husband and father to be turned adrift upon the face of the earth, there to become the tramps, vagabonds and criminals of civilization. Con-

tinuing its growth, the system of capital has advanced from childhood, through middle age, and has to-day reached its dotage. Its race is run. Its useful mission has been fully performed. The drama of capitalism is approaching its grand climax. The workers have fully solved the problem of production, but the brainy capitalists have not solved the problem of distribution. Nations which yesterday were the world's markets are to-day gripping each other's throats for the last market of the world, China. What a pitiful and ghastly tragedy of suicide must the capitalist system enter upon in its old age. The last hope of capitalist nations must be the dreaded "yellow peril," before which capitalist and worker, oppressor and oppressed, hold up their hands in horror.

Brother Maloney places implicit confidence in certain figures culled from the census reports. By them he endeavors to show that the middle class is not decreasing but is actually increasing, despite the rapidly accumulating facts which make it impossible for the middle class to hold its own. Just as certain as the superior weapon of the rifle overcame that of the bow and arrow, so certain is it that superior capital will win the battle of competition over inferior capital. As a trade unionist, Brother Maloney must admit that organized labor is superior to unorganized labor. Then let him be consistent and admit that organized capital is superior to individual capital. Yet he gives figures to show that the small producer and small retailer are increasing. Superficially regarded, these figures may be conclusive. Let me draw aside the veil and expose the middle class illusion. During financial panics and industrial depressions, when the small concerns are "busting" on every hand, a singular phenomenon is noted. The middle class actually increases in spite of its failures. The process is simple. The depression comes, factories go on short time, shut down or "go up" entirely, hordes of wage workers are dumped into the streets. It is then that the petty hoardings of the wage slaves are drawn from the banks

to be invested in some little shop or store, soon to be swallowed up by the big fellow, and for the would-be millionaire—back to the proletariat. Labor-saving machinery is incessantly driving the workers to launch their little capitalistic barks into the maelstrom of industry. Any printer will remember the myriads of bedroom offices which followed upon the heels of the Mergenthaler. Where are they now?—back to the case—or the road; yet they were enrolled in the census reports as a part of the "great middle class." Thus the question of the middle class, as with all others connected with the social problem, is a delusion so long as we merely skim the surface. The swimmer who cannot dive had better stay on land where he is safe. Brother Maloney's figures upon the ownership of farm lands hold up an alluring prospect to the farmer, yet thousands of the sons and daughters of the "independent yeomanry" prefer wage slavery of the towns to the serfdom of modern agriculture, where the tiller of the soil, either by his ownership of the farm or his mortgage upon it, binds himself as firmly to the soil as ever serf of the feudal system was bound, there to drudge for a pittance determined by railway trusts, dairy trusts, beef trusts, etc., etc. After all, what are census reports? Are they not the figures thrown out by the government of the expropriating class to show that nothing has been expropriated? I challenge their correctness. He who deliberately evades the truth is regarded as a liar. The United States census bureau evades the truth every ten years. Upon the statute books of this nation will be found a law calling for a complete summary of statistics of the unemployed. Why is this law ignored? Once, only once, was it complied with, and that in Massachusetts, Br'er Maloney's own state, and the results were so startling that it has been a dead letter ever since. Well may a capitalist government shrink from the task of enumerating the growing reserve army of unemployed labor, yet this army is the legitimate child of the capitalist system, and in its turn the benefactor of the

History of a Proletarian Family... Across the Ages

By Eugene Sue.

Translated by Daniel De Leon.

In order to understand our own time it is absolutely necessary that we know something of the times that have gone before. The generations are like links in a chain, all connected. The study, by which we can learn what has been done and thought before us, is history, and this is perhaps the most fascinating of all studies. Many historians fill their books with nothing but battles and the doings of "great" men, but happily this style of writing history is becoming obsolete, and the history of the people is taking its place. Socialism is more concerned with the history of the people than with the doings of kings and queens; and with a knowledge of the history of the people we can better understand how the great men achieved prominence. Eugene Sue has given us in the form of fiction the most universal history extant. It is a monumental work entitled "The Mysteries of the People," or "History of a Proletarian Family Across the Ages."

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capitalist class. What a club it is in the hands of employers in driving down wages, for, organized or unorganized, the man on the street keeps wages down, on the average, to the point of bare subsistence. Every scale submitted by organized capital is signed with the gaunt apparition of the starving wage slave brooding over all.

Brother Maloney says: "Individualism, the greatest force in the world, will always oppose it" (Socialism). If my entering this discussion meant the "cleansing up" of an opponent, I would ask for no better slab to flay Br'er Maloney upon than this. Individualism always will oppose Socialism, always has, and while it exists, always will. The two are antagonistic and must come to blows. In the struggle between the two in the past Socialism has been victorious—in every case. Where is individualism now? The basis of society in every epoch is the economic; the production of wealth. The construction of society is determined by the methods of producing wealth. Slave production arranged the social units consistent with itself. Serfdom did the same for feudal society, and capitalist production has done for present society what chattel slavery and feudalism did for their respective epochs. Therefore, if society is to be individualistic or socialistic, either individualism or collectivism must be the basis of the method of production. In the boyhood of capitalism individual production was the rule. Individual capitalists competed simply as individuals, wage workers competed for jobs simply as individuals. But this competitive warfare forced capitalists to combine and shake off this ruinous individualism, and organized capital is the result—the trust. Likewise, the workers, finding individual bargaining for wages suicidal, formed their labor organizations, and the trade union is the result. Thus competitive individualism was the mother of combination of both capital and labor.

As a trade unionist, who has joined his labor organization to resist the downward tendency of wages, how can Brother Maloney advocate a return to individualism? Why not be consistent with his argument and support Parry in his doctrine of laissez faire, which gives capital full power to organize and would deny labor "equal rights." Yet when Brother Jarrold charged Br'er Maloney with being of Parry's stripe, the charge was unjust—to Parry, for that apostle of Spencer, agrees with him that Socialism, or, as he has it, collectivism, must shortly take the place of competitive warfare, while Br'er Maloney has a permanent idea of permanent capitalism. No, no, Br'er Maloney, individualism is practically extinct to-day. A pair of shoes is no more produced by the cobbler hand-craftsman. Shoes, as all other commodities, are produced by thousands of workers, collectively. Would you go back to the cobbler shop? It is to laugh! Our masters' apologists prate of individualism. Where is the workingman's individualism? Let him exert

it and he is landed into the street—or jail. A slight knowledge of the philosophy of anarchism will show that its gospel is individualism, where the individual shall be a law unto himself, where the powers which other men believe should be vested in society or its government should find their full expression in the individual. The shot of Czolgosz was inspired by the belief that the power of the ruling class was centered in the individual McKinley, to be abolished by the individual Czolgosz. The premises of individualism hold good no more. Let it not be thought that I impute to my redoubtable friend any motives of conspiracy with Parry, or disloyalty to his union; far from it, I simply believe his argument is pious.

"The powerful Catholic church will also oppose it" (Socialism). Undoubtedly it will. Did it not arise in its might to crush the pretensions of the infant capitalist class in its attempt to overthrow feudalism and feudal power? Apply the test of history to this. When commercialism, fostered by discoveries, was laying the foundation of the present capitalist system, when the serfs were turned off the land to make room for sheep, they flocked to the cities, there to become the propertyless wage slaves in the factories; the common lands were expropriated from the people and the church, her estates, her monasteries, her beautiful abbeys, her wealth of gold and silver were confiscated by this embryo capitalist class to be converted into profits. The church, which had been the educator of the people, the sanctuary of the oppressed, and the savior of the poor and needy, was stripped by capitalism of, not only her economic wealth, but also of her state power. Is it any wonder she fought to maintain the feudal regime? Yet, nobly and courageously as she fought against capitalism, her enemy rose triumphant over her. History incidentally discloses the secret of the "original accumulation" of the present class whose abstemious lives cause them to pose as the ascetics of modern society. Notwithstanding the pillage of the church, it seems that she has forgiven and forgotten, but were I a churchman, I would oppose the capitalist system for the reason that its roots were imbedded in the economic and political power of the church; being simply a wage worker, I oppose it with all my might—the might of one—for the roots, the trunk, every branch and every absorbent function of the capitalist system is sucking the life blood from my class—the working class.

That this system must follow the inevitable law of evolution, birth, maturity, decay and death, I am firmly convinced. Perfect organization of the working class can only be the means of building up the new and better structure. But, after all, these great problems are never argued out. They must be worked out or fought out to their conclusion. The result of this one must be dictated by the intelligence of the great majority—the working class.

"WOMAN'S PARADISE"

Not as Rosy as Pictured According to Its Secretary of Labor.

The secretary of Labor recently sent to the minister of labor (Mr. Seddon) a report on high wages and their exploitation, which was laid on the table of the House of Representatives by leave. It states that it may fairly be said without boasting that the industrial conciliation and arbitration act of New Zealand has drawn the attention of the civilized world to the progressive legislation of this colony. The very large number of inquiries made of the labor department by the people in America and Europe, combined with the extensive literature relating to the subject of its laws recently published abroad (particularly in the United States) are proofs of how widely the subject engages the attention of persons occupied in the study or administration of socio-political matters, and that it therefore will be little short of a world-wide calamity should anything cause false inferences to be drawn from the effects or results of institutions working under any but fair and impartial conditions.

The secretary says the New Zealand arbitration act is not working under such conditions, nor is its beneficent power available to the full in the cause of public utility. The work of the court is being neutralized by malignant collateral action. It is in the position of a single regiment or division of an army sent far into the enemy's country without reserves or support. Or, to use a still closer metaphor, it is like a fair edifice, the foundations of which are being destroyed by cunning miners working from every side. The general effect of the act has been, the secretary says, to benefit the whole community by insuring to the employer stability of business and output, to the worker higher wages and shorter hours, and to the general public that continuity of trade and business which was formerly too often disrupted by the mischievous waste of strikes and lockouts. These results, he says, have been of great advantage to the whole colony, as the great prosperity shown by every indication of the economic barometer denotes. Such effects are, however, rapidly becoming neutralized, and soon only the empty shell of an apparent prosperity will be left in the unbridled hypocrisy of a few who are not regulated and checked.

Some of the necessities of life cost more than in former years and their price is rapidly advancing out of all proportion to the rise in wages of the producers. Of course the rise in wages given by the arbitration court to certain classes of workers is asserted, by some, to be the reason for the increased cost of articles and services, but this argument runs in a vicious circle, for it is the increased cost of necessities which has caused the concession of higher wages. There has been no fair ratio between the rise in wages and the rise in prices. The fact is there is a third man in the game besides the employer and employee, and it is this third man—the monopolizing ground landlord of city and suburban property—who alone will be the winner in the end.

The chief favourer of the wages of the worker and of the profits of the employer is excessive rent. That an equitable payment for the use of land and dwellings should be made to their owners is, under the present constitution of society, proper and desirable, but a greedy, rack-renting system, which transfers gradually almost the whole earnings of the industrial and commercial classes to the pockets of the nonproducer, is indefensible. It partakes of three characters—it is unauthorized taxation by private persons, it is tribute to a conqueror, and it is the ransom of a captive. In Wellington (and in Auckland, too) rents have not only increased during the last ten years, but they have done so in an utter disproportion to earnings. It is difficult for a clerk or foreman at \$1, \$17 a year to get a decent house under \$7.20 a week, which means about one-third of his income. A laborer earning (taking wet days, illness, etc.) on an average \$7.20 a week must pay at least \$2.43 to \$3.28 a week for a house; he, too, finds that a roof over his head costs one-third of his income. This may be accepted as a general rule in the capital city, viz., one-third of the income goes to the landlord. The shopkeeper, who by industry and capability improves his business and enhances the value of his holdings, discovers as soon as his short lease expires that if he wishes renewal he must sacrifice the profits of his business. In a certain city there is a striking instance of this process. A small piece of land, now in the center of the town, was bought many years ago (almost by chance) for a person living in England, who paid \$243 for it. That person has drawn \$3,603 a year from it for twenty years, and now receives \$6,733 a year therefrom. The tribute levied on the struggling workers of New Zealand by this absentee

would, if capitalized, "stagger humanity." It represents no honest profit on investment.

Necessaries, such as meat, bacon, eggs, coal, firewood, etc., have also risen in price considerably, and have helped to minimize any advance in workers' wages. These, however, are more defensible in their deductions than unfair rentals, because some part of the profits made in such cases goes to producers. Unfortunately for the operative or laborer, he is seldom the owner of the means of production, and the point he is made to realize is that mutton is far more costly than it was ten years ago, while the increased checks for frozen meat, freights, commissions, etc., do not come his way. Nevertheless, a certain number of his class are employed in the production of distribution of meat, and therefore advances in its price do not stand on the same footing as those of ground rents. Even the farmers indirectly suffer by such muleting of wages, for less farm produce is consumed when the spending power of the masses is checked and directed aside into private banking accounts of the owners of city and suburban lands.

With the above consideration in mind, the secretary very earnestly asked the Government to take into consideration the question of legislating for the requirements of suburban lands and the housing of the citizens. Whether such consideration should take the direction of State or municipal control of compulsorily acquired properties the secretary did not presume to suggest. Some scheme having for its determination the breaking up of the land ring, however, in the opinion of the secretary, should be earnestly pondered over. Just as a well-known European acquired by a Imperial ukase possession of petroleum wells, and so controlled the market in order to prevent the cupidty of individuals destroying the transport service, etc., of the Empire (carried on by oil-burning steamers), so in New Zealand there is, the secretary opines, reason for the State to interfere to prevent the exploitation of its citizens and the draining of the earnings of the community into the possession of a few private persons.

The secretary thinks it is beyond doubt that the advantages bestowed by progressive legislation are gradually being nullified, and will eventually be destroyed by certain adverse influences, and therefore those influences must be sought out and neutralized fearlessly and effectively in the interests of all classes of workers, i. e., of the vast majority of the citizens of the colony.

F. Dillingham, Consul-General, Auckland, New Zealand.

JAPANESE SOCIALISM

Workers Arrested While "Reviewing the Cherry Blossoms"—Propaganda in Japan.

[From the Tokio "Chokugen," sole organ of Japanese Socialists.]

On April 24 many hundreds of our comrades assembled at the Ueno Park for "reviewing the cherry blossoms" as they call it. Every one of them carried a red flag in his hand and cried out all at once "Shakushu Banzai!" (Long live Socialism!) Policemen suddenly sprung up from every quarter and ordered the demonstrators to disperse, arresting in the meantime about thirty of them, including two women who were playing the most active part in this demonstration. So it ended just as it ended each year.

On the night of the 3d the Socialist lecture meeting was held in the Y. M. C. A. Hall. In spite of heavy rain, there assembled an audience of about four hundred. The speakers were Comrades Matsuzaki, Yamada, Kinoshita and Saji. Comrade Kinoshita is one of the most eloquent orators in Japan. He spoke on that night about the history of the Labor Movement in this country, and said in conclusion that it was nothing other than our Socialist Movement that would spring up most forcibly after the Russo-Japanese war. Comrade Saji is one of the city councillors of Tokio, being the only representative of Japanese Socialists in any public assembly. He spoke on the practical side of municipal Socialism.

After the lectures were over Comrade Ishikawa made some reports about the "cherry reviewing" meeting of the previous day and complained of the barbarous conduct of the police, when the police sergeant present there suddenly stood up and tried to break up the meeting. But the audience would not listen to such an order. They cried out again and again "Shakushu Banzai!" (Long live the Socialist party!), violently clapping their hands all the time. After the great confusion which lasted about one hour, the audience were gradually dispersed, singing the "song of Socialism."

The People is a good broom to brush up the cobwebs from the minds of the workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

On the Chicago Manifesto

[These columns are open for the discussion to Party members and non-Party members alike.]

I.

From H. J. Schade, Member Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

Los Angeles, Cal., March 10.—It is a call to arms, the invitation to participate in the formation of an industrial union. What the aims and objects to be attained, the constitution, rules and methods which should be adopted and control such an organization, is what I wish to discuss, rather than do any dissecting, or hair-splitting on the wording of the Manifesto; that is crude and preliminary. The convention itself will determine its objects and tactics.

Yes! the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance should send delegates, logical, able and determined men. Every Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance sympathizer in Chicago, or who can get to the convention, should be there to back up the delegates, assign their time on the floor to the delegates and assist them all they can. In fact, as education is our main object at present, the class conscious Socialist should respond to an invitation anywhere, everywhere, wherever the cause of labor is in need or in danger, to sound the word of sense and the principle of class consciousness.

The declaration of principles should express the following points: Labor produces all economic wealth. Wages can never be regarded as an equivalent of labor performed, because under the present system of wage labor, if labor produces \$5 of wealth in one day, the laborer receives \$2 as wages, the three-fourths goes to his employer who, after paying for raw material and dividing up with the landlord, pockets about \$4 as surplus value, which produces multimillionaires on one hand and propertyless wage slaves on the other. That the private ownership of the social means of production enable the capitalist to force the worker to accept wages or starve. That machinery is the social inheritance of the human race, because it is the result of the labor of all past generations of mankind, and since the capitalist is using it to impoverish and oppress the useful element of society, i. e., the working class, it should be voted out of their hands on the same principle that you would take a pistol from a highwayman. That the aim of Unionism should be to solidify all grades and forces of labor, to demand the total surrender of the capitalist class and the full equivalent of their toil. The aims and objects of an industrial union should be to educate the working class to depend on the working class itself, to understand the class struggle, and to recognize that all workers, skilled or unskilled, have an interest in common, that an injury to one is the concern of all. To inaugurate the co-operative commonwealth, a commonwealth under which all the social means of production, land, etc., will be owned by all the people; where the hours of labor will be the lowest average possible to produce the necessities and desires of the people; where the product of labor will be measured in hours and minutes instead of dollars and cents; where for four hours expended labor time the worker will receive the full social equivalent, leaving no chance for surplus value, in the shape of rent, interest and profit. A commonwealth under which every able-bodied person of matured age will have to perform useful work or starve; where the opportunities to labor will be open and equal to all. To compose the organized basis of such a commonwealth, and operate its institutions of production and distribution, and elect administrative officials to perform such functions, and make such laws as such a workers' republic would necessitate, is the object of this industrial union.

An industrial union should have no president, but should have a representative executive committee. Local unions should have no permanent president, but should have an organizer, and elect a chairman at every meeting. It should have paid officers, if able, for under the present method of wage-labor, the union officer becomes an absolute necessity. Individually workingmen cannot do anything in the shop to improve their condition because the person or persons

active would be discharged; therefore some person acting for the workers, not immediately dependent on shop work for existence, is necessary. Every member of the Alliance who is capable should become an officer or traveling organizer of the industrial union. (Critics will be forestalled by learning that I have not the physique nor inclination for such position, so am after no graft. It is a matter of having class conscious men at the head of such organization.)

The name Socialist in my judgment could well be dropped as Trade and Labor Alliance, or American Labor Union would suffice, as no matter what argument may be advanced, you must necessarily deal largely with raw recruits, and being a member of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance for seven years, I know from experience that the unclass-conscious wage worker objects to the term Socialist for a union. It is his class spirit manifesting itself but not being class conscious he does not as yet recognize Socialism as his only salvation. There are hundreds of Socialist Labor Party men isolated economically, because they have no trade union behind them, unable to do anything in the shop to promote the social revolution. After all the most aggressive element of the working class are in the trade unions.

An industrial union should not allow any officer to meet at banquet or hobnob with any capitalist organization.

No contracts with employers should be made. Settlement of strikes, should apply only to return to work and no binding contracts or agreements made.

No salaried official to receive more than the normal rate of wage received by his trade.

No shop steward; every member should help see that the principles and regulations of the union are lived up to.

Strikes should only be ordered by referendum vote, of all the trades in that particular industry, i. e., in case of railroads all the men in the employ of the railroads should belong to one district, subdivided according to vocations, from engineers and clerks to switchmen and porters. In case of any grievance among any subdivisions, the grievance should be laid before every local to vote on, and majority vote and action shall decide and it be imperative upon every one to obey such decision.

Universal membership and transfer cards.

Initiation fee price of official organ for one year.

Every member to receive the official organ of the union. The Socialist Labor Party should offer the Weekly People as the official organ, adding another page or two for special news of the union.

Free discussion of working class economics and politics should be on the order of business of every local.

Every wage worker in the Socialist Labor Party should join the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and aid in this work, because political action alone would deal only with social palliatives that without economic backing would prove reactionary. The proper way to fight the capitalist class is to demand higher actual wages and shorter hours. It is far more revolutionary and progressive to organize the street car systems in an industrial union and have Socialist Labor Party councilmen back them up in their struggle economically, and act as their representatives in demands upon their employers, than to advocate municipal ownership under capitalism, in fact, every demand for collective ownership under capitalism is to play into the hands of the middle class, who have worthless tools of production, transportation and distribution to sell to the city, state, or nation at abnormal prices.

I hope to see every class conscious wage worker active in the industrial union, The People the official organ and class consciousness spread to every wage worker in the United States. Leave social palliatives and municipalization where they belong: with the middle class Social Democratic party.

II.

From C. A. Johnson, Member Socialist Labor Party.

Oakland, Cal., April 9.—The discussion on the Chicago Manifesto so far, seems mainly to favor the sending of delegates by the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance to the Chicago convention, and for them to work in conjunction with the rest of the delegates to bring about an industrial union. Now, there are two things to do. Either the Alliance amalgamates with this new movement, draws up the best program possible under the circumstances and then awaits developments to place it on a thorough class basis with a political working class party annexation, or to stand firm for the Alliance and give no quarter.

Now, with the first idea in view, the only thing that can be done is to send delegates and help to form this movement, as put forth in the Manifesto. But if the Alliance is to hold to its position it would be unwise to send delegates, or do anything to promote the launching of this industrial union. It would rather be the duty of Alliance men to do all in their power to prevent such an organization, or at least not to aid in its formation. If the latter stand would be taken, I think the Alliance would make greater headway and its uncompromising position would gain the respect of all and, in time, the new

organization would have to gravitate towards it and if honest and well meaning would adopt our position. Anyone versed in Socialism must admit that the declaration of principles of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is correct and that no other can fit in the framework of revolutionary Socialism.

The severe lashing that the Socialist Labor Party has given the Social Democratic party, has born good results. The rank and file are awakening. Fakirism and class consciousness, middle class reform and revolution, cannot harmonize; consequently, it is turmoil and each at the other man's throat in the S. D. P. Long has the S. D. P. supported the pure and simple unions. The "borers from within" have crawled in the dust for the Gomperses and done everything to prejudice the rank and file of those unions against the S. L. P. and the Alliance, yet while all this existed it was tolerated by the men who now are at the head of this industrial union, the framers and signers of the Manifesto. Some of these men a few years ago claimed industrial unionism to be the thing and they had the A. L. U. founded along the lines of the Alliance in the West. But they did not work as a class conscious body for the up-building of a revolutionary working class movement. They condemned the fakirs in the pure and simple unions, but upheld them indirectly by giving prestige to the S. D. P. What guarantee have we that the signers of the Manifesto or most of them at least, will not, after the new organization is formed do the same thing? That these men are talking industrial unionism and coming close to S. L. P. principles does not signify much unless they practice what they preach. It is not what a man says in favor of Socialism that counts but he must back up his talk by action, open and above board to gain the respect of class conscious workingmen in the labor movement.

Now, what many of these men talk about Socialism, class consciousness and revolution, is only words. They act contrary. If the signers of the Manifesto took a consistent stand they would agree that the Alliance is correct in principles and tactics; and instead of forming a movement similar to the Alliance, they would join its ranks and use their influence to promote its principles, and when talking politics it would be from the S. L. P. platform.

The S. L. P. press has called the workers' attention to the shortcomings of pure and simple craft organization in its struggle with capital, so it may be easy at this time to organize an industrial union as outlined by the Manifesto. But in this case the political aspect would be lost sight of. No one then would interfere with one's politics, so you could still have the officers of this union supporting bogus Socialism, even Republicanism. These men would have great influence both economically and politically. Thus this industrial unionism would be a prop to bogus Socialism.

Of course, it is at this time an utter impossibility to judge what will be the outcome of this convention, but one thing we do know with certainty is that our opportunity to organize Alliances were never better. This stir in the labor movement should be taken advantage of. Now is the time to educate, agitate, and organize. A few Alliance organizers in the large industrial centers would accomplish much good during the next few months.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY SUPPLIES.

Constitutions, a neat booklet with red-coated linen cover, containing besides the constitution the membership record and spaces for dues stamps, a record of transfers and the Party platform, per 100..... \$2.00
Application cards, with exposition of Party principles same to be retained by the candidate and detachable application form, per 100..... .40
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Henry Kuhn, National Secretary,
2-6 New Reade street, New York.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

**The Burning Question
of
TRADES UNIONISM.**

A lecture delivered at Newark, N. J.,

by Daniel De Leon

Editor of the Daily People,
the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party.

Trades Unionism is one of the methods by which the exploited class of to-day—the working class—seeks to resist or minimize the power of the exploiter. The author goes into a searching analysis of trades unionism and shows how the mistakes incurred by tradesunionists lead to the nullification of their efforts at redress. Correct tactics are set forth. No student of Socialism but must be familiar with the trade union movement, therefore this book should be read.

PAPER, 5 CENTS.

New York Labor News Co.

2-6 New Reade Street,

New York, N. Y.

**Trades Unionism in
the United States**

A pamphlet by Justus Ebert, New York City, which gives an historical glimpse of the development of the principles and spirit of American trades unionism, from the earliest times to the present day. The object of the pamphlet is set forth in the following "Foreword," at the beginning of its pages:

"The question of trades unionism is one of great importance. The organizations of men employed at trades figure largely in the economic and politics of the day. Their principles and control have become a matter of tremendous social significance. This applies not only to the present forms of society, but those of the future as well. Trade unions are either the bulwarks of capitalism or the rudimentary framework of Socialism."

"A question so pregnant with significance is worthy of study. Emerson says: 'Man is explicable by nothing else than all his history.' So with trades unionism. The best study of trades unionism in the United States is all of its history. It will be the object of this paper to furnish a glimpse of this history in order that interest in the study of American trades unionism may be stimulated and the extent of its profundity realized. As the word implies, the glimpse will necessarily be brief, including in its sweep only typical instances of progress, both upward and downward."

The student desiring a concise statement of the underlying principles and spirit of the Knights of Labor, the American Federation of Labor, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and the American Labor Union will find them in this pamphlet. Price 5 cents.

PRICE 5 CENTS.

New York Labor News Co.

2, 4 & 6 New Reade Street,

New York City.

**John Mitchell
Exposed**

BY

ROBERT RANDELL

The President of the United Mine Workers' Union, John Mitchell, is a labor leader widely known, a leader who has been almost idolized by many workmen believing him to be the foremost defender of labor's cause, and we would it were true. But far from being the true guardian of labor's interests, Mitchell has betrayed vast armies of strikers to disastrous defeat. In these addresses, Randall, a member of the United Mine Workers, lays bare Mitchell's autocratic and traitorous conduct in the Colorado-Utah strike of 1903-4, and also his infamous connection with the National Civic Federation. This is a valuable lesson in the methods of the Hutenants of capital as labor leaders. The "Two Pages from Roman History," read by the light of this expose, will be better comprehended.

PRICE 5 CENTS.

New York Labor News Co.

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stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888.....	2,068
In 1892.....	21,737
In 1896.....	36,584
In 1900.....	34,191
In 1904.....	34,172

If the advocate of the present, with its
black catalogue of crimes and vices—if
the wealthy and the self-styled high and
mighty of the earth can conceive of no
other system, and do not know more of
the nature of man than that he may be
enslaved and degraded, they know but
the half, and the worst half of his cap-
abilities. Awful, to such, will be the blast
of the coming tempest, which the strong-
est must bend to, and the highest fall
down before!

—J. L. BRAY.

SOME SOURCES OF BUSINESS.

In the State of Mississippi is a coun-
ty called Carroll. In Carroll county are
two towns—one Carrollton, the other Vaiden.
The two towns are competing for
the privilege of hanging a certain negro
named Henry Brown. The "Record", a
paper published in Vaiden, states the
argument forcibly and plainly gives the
reason why Vaiden insists on her rights.
It says:

"It is not the life of Henry Brown that
our people crave so much; neither
does the world care a bauble whether
the insignificant negro starts to perdition
from Vaiden or Carrollton, so long as the
law is upheld; but because of the fact
that the crime was committed in the
Second district of Carroll county, the
negro indicted, tried and sentenced at
this point, common justice demands that
the hanging should be done here, and the
concerted action on the part of Carrollton
to force the hanging there is a flag-
rant display of bad taste and a direct
violation of common courtesy. LIKE
ALL OTHER HANGINGS, THE EX-
ECUTION OF HENRY BROWN WILL
ATTRACT THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE,
AND TO PERMIT CARROLLTON TO
PLUCK THE PLUM WOULD MEAN A
HEAVY LOSS TO OUR BUSINESS
MEN."

That is in Mississippi. From the north,
from holy, Puritanic New England,
comes this story, told by a New Haven
minister, who has undertaken the thank-
less task of holding by the tail the run-
away horse of modern corruption. In a
Connecticut village, whose name he sup-
presses, he and others organized a com-
mittee to prevent corruption on election
day. The committee was driven out of the
village; the leader of the assailants
was the village grocerman; and he voiced
his own and his fellow business-men's
reasons for their indignation at the
"fresh committee" by saying: "What do
these fellows propose? Do they want to
kill the business of the place? If they
carry out their new-fangled notions
money will cease to circulate, and we
might as well shut up shop!"

Although it is not possible to ascertain
the "social tone" of this village, its name
not being given, it must be a very ex-
ceptional Connecticut village if it at
all falls behind Vaiden, with its four
churches and a seminary. It is safe to
proceed upon the theory that the Con-
necticut village is at a par with the
Mississippi village—both of equally good
"social and religious tone"; and thus
they contribute equal shares of light
to illumine the sources of business.

If the loss of a hanging implies a
loss of business, then hanging must be
sources of business prosperity; and,
mounting to the headspring, the crime
that feeds the source, murder, is one of
the elements from which business
draws its sap. Similarly in Connecticut:
If corruption at the polls is the water
that turns the wheels of business, and
sets money in circulation, then political
impunity is another element from which
business derives its nourishment.

Of course, these two places are but
as atoms in the nation's organism. But,
no atom, no organism; the only differ-
ence between the two villages on the
one hand, and larger towns, on the
other is one of degree and not of kind.
Capitalism would have to "shut up shop"
if corruption and crime of all nature
were suppressed. No corruption, no
crime—no capitalism.

What Vaiden and the Connecticut vil-
lage have done, distinct from large
towns, is to betray the truth. Larger
gatherings of capitalist society are more
hypocritical.

IF YOU FAIL, TRY AGAIN.

We do not suppose that "President-
Editor-Undertaker" Gompers is ex-

tensively versed in French literature,
whether in the original, or through
translations. If our supposition is right,
the fact would only go to throw into
relief the originality of the gentleman's
genius. He needs no tips.

A witty French author, Le Sage by
name, wrote a work under the title of
Gil Blas. The hero of the story, Gil
Blas, comes across all sorts of people,
and makes all sorts of experience.
Among other things, he has to do with
a Doctor of the name of Sangrado (lit-
erally Bled). Dr. Sangrado's system of
treatment was as simple as it was
unique. The first thing he did when
called in to see a patient was to bleed
him and pour water down his throat;
if the man got worse (as they uniformly
did) he would bleed him some
more and pour still more water down
his throat; if the patient began to show
signs of collapse (as they invariably
did) he was given a third dose of bleed-
ing and a third dose of water; if he
still survived, though sinking fast (as
happened with some few robust con-
stitutions) then Dr. Sangrado would
finish him up by bleeding him of what-
ever few lingering drops of blood his
veins still contained and by the simul-
taneous pouring of a gallon of water
down his throat. Dr. Sangrado's "grad-
uate", by the time he got through with
them were drained of their blood and
infated beyond recognition by water.
He uniformly reached his end; if first
he failed, he tried and tried again. So
with "President-Editor-Undertaker"
Gompers. He hastened to Chicago to
operate upon the teamster strike; did
not succeed in killing it off on the spot;
had to leave the city; but promised to
return and administer a second dose
of his treatment. Success will then, no
doubt, crown the gentleman's efforts.

Like Dr. Sangrado, "President-Editor-
Undertaker" Gompers has unlimited
faith in his system of treatment; like
the Doctor, the "President-Editor-Und-
ertaker" has an uninterrupted line of
success to show; like the Doctor, the
"President-Editor-Undertaker" Gompers
always tries and tries again, if he does
not succeed at the first attempt.

No more than the human body could
resist the successive applications of Dr.
Sangrado's system, can an organization
of labor resist the successive applica-
tions of Gompersism; when he returns
to Chicago, as he promises or threat-
ens, "President-Editor-Undertaker"
Gompers will undoubtedly add one more
"glorious victory" to the long catalogue
of his register that is surmounted with
the skull and crossbones of the Work-
ing Class.

HOPEFUL FOR WHOM?

Leonora Beck Ellis has an article in this
month's "Bob Taylor Magazine" that
should make the mouths of northern mill
owners water. It should make their
mouths water both by reason of the
facts that it mentions and the conclu-
sions that it draws.

Among the facts quoted by the lady
is that of families consisting of father,
mother and six or eight boys and girls
ranging from twelve to twenty odd years
working in southern mills and bringing
home every month—jointly, the whole
family, father, mother and six or eight
boys and girls from eight to twenty odd
years—\$175! (the scare mark is the
lady's herself). In other words, sup-
posing the family to be of only father,
mother and six boys and girls, its mem-
bers would be averaging a little less than
\$22 A MONTH, or about \$5 A WEEK,
while a family of father, mother and
eight boys and girls would be averaging
\$17.50 A MONTH, or something like \$4
A WEEK!

No wonder Leonora Beck Ellis puts a
scare mark after the fact. But what
does the scare mark stand for? Is it in-
dignation or approbatory wonderment?
Let Leonora Beck Ellis speak for herself.
"She asks, Is it at all strange that EX-
TRAVAGANCE seizes upon this family?"

In other words the wages of these
people, one of whom at least (the moth-
er) should be attending household work
at home, and several of whom should be
at school, are too high! Extravagance is
a vice and mother of vices. These people
are made extravagant by reason of the
high wages that they receive. Why not
go to the root of the evil and stop the
vice-breeding extravagance by reducing
wages? The remedy is obvious; the
cure unailing.

How must not the mouths of northern
mill owners water! What magnificent
vistas do not such facts and prospects
offer! Think of a whole family—instead
of being smashed as the Socialists would,
and rent asunder as the un-Godly So-
cialists propose by keeping the mother in
one place (at home), the father in a
second place (the mill) the youngest
children in a third place (the play-
ground) and the bigger children in yet a
fourth place (the school or college)—
think of a whole family, instead of being
thus rent apart, together in one place, the
mill! Think of the glorious results of
such a glorious family life! On top of
that, reduce wages, and thereby cut ex-
travagance at the root and, moreover,
draw closer the family bonds that keep
the whole family united—and the idyllic
prospects of their eventually, if not soon-

er, living on grass, and thereby filling
the high moral ideal of the patriotic cap-
italist, can not escape realization.

No wonder "Public Opinion" publishes
Leonora Beck Ellis' article under the
thick-typed heading of: "A Hopeful View
of the Southern Mill People".

W. K. VANDERBILT, JR.

Even casual readers of newspapers
are aware of the proficiencies of
crowned heads and Princes. The press
despatches have taken care of that.
There is not a European crowned head
or Prince whose expertness in science,
arts and letters has not been vaunted
some time or other. The vulgar mind
has the notion that these Princes and
crowned heads are idlers, with all the
vices of the idler, and expert only in
that. But such notions are only vul-
gar; they are vicious and incorrect.
For instance: did not the Czar of Russia
quite recently "personally inspect" the
engines of his warships and display
"close technical knowledge"? Has not
King Edward VII. been positively stated
to be a "specialist on Shakespeare"?
And on what is the German Emperor
not a specialist, from painting down or
up to electricity? And yet there are
people so incredulous as to doubt the
alleged facts, although published black
upon white.

So likewise it is very much to be
feared that the press despatches con-
cerning the skill and usefulness of W.
K. Vanderbilt, Jr., will be love's labor
lost upon certain folks. The press de-
spatches announce the young man as
having been elected a Director and
Vice-President of the Utica and Mo-
hawk Valley Railway Company and the
Syracuse Rapid Transit Company. That
is a very likely story, the wicked folks
will say, and quoting Marx, the source
of all their pestiferousness, that a man
does not become a capitalist because he
is a captain of industry, but he becomes
a captain of industry because he is a
capitalist—just as a man does not be-
come a Prince because he is a King,
but he becomes a King because he is
a Prince. The story, accordingly, of
W. K. Vanderbilt, Jr., hitherto known
to the world only for his dangerous
feats—dangerous to the pedestrians
more than to himself—with speedy au-
tomobiles driven at reckless speed—the
story that the gentleman has become a
Director and Vice-President is not sur-
prising; but what the vicious will de-
cline to believe, is that the gentleman
has "carefully trained himself on the
science of railroad", and is going to
devote his "whole attention to his du-
ties" for which he "is eminently qual-
ified by laborious study"—that chunk of
truth the vicious will doubt.

It is a pity that there are people so
constituted that they will not believe a
thing, even if the capitalists, or other
people interested in its being believed,
pay round sums to the papers to have
it published.

A NARROW ESCAPE; OR, ANOTHER SHOT THAT FAILED.

The below letter arrived with the
mail of the 15th instant:

Editor The People.—It is not gener-
ally known that my editorship of the
"Voice of Labor" ceased with the Febru-
ary edition thereof. The publication of
Mr. Untermyer's article against the S.
T. & L. A. in the May edition must
not, therefore, be construed as repre-
senting my editorial policy in such mat-
ters.

Apart from the merits of the subject,
Mr. Untermyer's dragging in by the ears
of so wholly irrelevant a thing as the
Latin parentage of Mr. De Leon and
the lack throughout his article of that
calm, scientific temperament which is
presumed to be the especial heritage of
Teutonic blood as distinguished from
"the fatal Latin quality of intrigue"
render it, in my judgment, altogether
unfit for publication.

Speaking as a member of the confer-
ence which issued the Chicago Mani-
festo, I desire to guard against any
wrong interpretation which may be giv-
en to Mr. Untermyer's article as well
as to the similar writings of Mr. A. M.
Simons. These gentlemen have no war-
rant to voice the sentiments of the con-
ference. Whatever they have to say
against the S. T. & L. A. is the expres-
sion of their individual judgment or
prejudice; as the case may be, and must
in no wise be taken as summing up the
sense of the signers of the Manifesto.
That document maps out a wide sweep
of common ground upon which all may
meet in unity of purpose who are will-
ing to fight for a revolutionary economic
organization of the Working Class.

Thos. J. Hagerty.
Chicago, Ill., May 13.

Until the above letter was received
we were in the belief that the publi-
cation of the Untermyer article in this
month's issue of the "Voice of Labor"
was a bit of "Keltic wickedness and
humor", intended to have Untermyer
pillory himself in plain view of the
American Labor Movement, and himself
furnish conclusive documentary evidence
of the charges that The People has these

many years been bringing, and the
warnings that The People has been ut-
tering against the gentleman's ilk. The
harmfulness to the Socialist Movement,
to say nothing of the repulsiveness, of
these caricatures of the German race,
represented in this city by the New
Yorker Volkszeitung corporation and in
Chicago by Mr. Untermyer; their of-
fensive conceit in deeming their own pal-
pable ignorance the equivalent of knowl-
edge, simply because they are Germans,
and, as such, can, (presumably) read the
pothumous and untranslated works of
Marx, which, as a matter of fact, they
neither read nor could understand, if
they did; their laughable, if it were not
so harmful, presumption of strutting as
the elect of the Lord on the strength of
their being Germans; their arrogant
readiness to insult all other races and
nationalities—as Mr. Untermyer does
the Latin race, of which, evidently,
what he knows is not worth knowing,
and as the Volkszeitung corporation
clique habitually do when they, sink of
corruption and ash-barrel of ignorance,
pronounce the Irish "corrupt to the mar-
row", the American people "hopelessly
ignorant and corrupt", the English lan-
guage "absurd and dishonest", etc., etc.;
their underbred recklessness in scatter-
ing their falsehoods against men and
bodies of men; their utter disregard of
the interests of the Movement and readi-
ness to sacrifice it to their own bloated,
nativistic vanity—all these ulcerations
come together and run out of Mr. Un-
termann's article, like pus out of a
fester that is burst open. And so we
applaud the publication of the screech,
and have laid it by as a useful docu-
ment, confident that it can have but
one effect with the thoughtful (and who
else is worth regarding?)—to serve as
a documentary comprobation of the jus-
tice of a serious note of warning that
The People has long sounded.

As we read the article, we felt that
our document must have had a narrow
escape. No longer ago than in its March
issue, the "Voice of Labor" felt induced
by a sense of duty to itself and to the
Movement to retract and to apologize
for a false charge which it had been
cheated into publishing against the Gen-
eral Executive Board of the Socialist
Trade & Labor Alliance, and which it
pronounced false in the said March issue.
Great, accordingly, must have been the
danger of the "Voice of Labor's" detect-
ing in the proffered Untermyer article
(and, therefore, rejecting it) the identity
of the source of information with the
worthless source of information that had
imposed upon itself—Mr. Thomas Aloyas-
us Hickey, an unreliable being, who was
discharged from this office for shirking
work, lying, and habitual drunkenness,
and who, ever since seeking the stuff-
able to stuff and duly appreciated by
them as a bird of their feather, found
the ear of Hermon Titus, then in Seat-
tle, and now the ear of Ergast Unter-
myer, the ready-willing "sink to dump
his booby stuff into. Narrow was our
document's escape. It was a piece of
good luck that it did escape.

For the rest, there is nothing that
the Untermyers and Simonses, or any
number of such vicious clowns, can do
that will accomplish its purpose, and
good the Editor of The People into a
posture harmful to the prospects of the
approaching Chicago Convention. Whether
in his capacity of Editor of The
People, or—if elected by next month's
national convention of the Socialist
Trade & Labor Alliance at Lynn—in the
capacity of a delegate to the said Chi-
cago Convention, having no private axe
to grind and no personal malice to grati-
fy, he will pursue his ideal—his pres-
ent, "immediate ideal" of doing all in
his power to render the Chicago Con-
vention successful; and thus, as set
forth in full in his statement to the
members of the Socialist Trade & Labor
Alliance, recently published in these
columns, help set up that national Un-
ion that American conditions demand as
a condition precedent for the reaching
of the ultimate ideal—the leaving to our
children a patrimony worthy of human
beings—THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC.

A correspondent asks The People to
give the name of a book exposing the
degeneracy of the Capitalist Class. He
is at present said to be in Jerome, Ariz.,
"Letter Box". This is a book that is
published with daily additions. Our
correspondent may begin with this item
from the New York "Sun" of May 20:

"Rector's Sues Chas. W. Clark.
"Wants Senator's Son to Pay for Sun-
dry Food and Drink Served to
Music."
"A suit for \$398.35 has been started
in the Supreme Court by the corpora-
tion which owns Rector's restaurant,
through its attorney, George Young
Bauchle of 38 Park row, against Charles
W. Clark, son of Senator William A.
Clark of Montana. As the defendant
is at present said to be in Jerome, Ariz.,
Judge Dugro yesterday signed an or-
der directing that the summons and
complaint be served by publication."

"The complaint alleges that Mr.
Clark visited Rector's on March 6, 1904,
with a party of friends. He ordered

an elaborate supper and contracted with
the management for the use of an or-
chestra for which he agreed to pay
\$75. Mr. Clark, the complainant says,
paid for the supper, but neglected to
pay for the use of the orchestra.

"Mr. Clark again visited the restaur-
ant on March 8, 1904. He ordered a
supper for twelve, with the orchestra
accompaniment. This time, says the
complainant, Mr. Clark did not pay
either for the supper or the orchestra.
The bill for wines amounted to \$193.50,
while that for food was only \$29.85.
The orchestra was to be \$100.

"The supper included eleven quarts
of special champagne at \$12 a quart;
thirty-six Scotch whiskies, one quart
of claret, \$8; twenty drinks of rye
whisky, a magnum and several quarts
of ordinary champagne."

Read the last paragraph and then re-
flect upon the character of the twelve
persons that can consume such a quan-
tity of liquids with supper. Could any-
thing be more swinish and bestial?
Could anything be more wasteful and
indicative of degeneracy? Yet this is
one of many instances in which the
Clarks, who preach thrift, temperance
and manhood to the Working Class,
show that they possess neither the one
nor the other themselves. Our cor-
respondent will find abundant material de-
monstrating the degeneracy of the cap-
italist class, if he keeps his eyes open
when reading the capitalist press.

Another "labor leader" has received
his reward! This time it is James Tan-
sey of Fall River, Mass. This worthy
aided the employers to enforce the
12 1-2 per cent. reduction and the in-
tensification of labor that followed it.
He has, further, paved the way for
another wage-cut by his report on
Southern conditions, written under the
direction of Governor Douglas and the
chief clerk of the Massachusetts Bu-
reau of Labor Statistics, who accom-
panied Tansey on his tour of "investi-
gation" in the South. This worthy
"labor leader" was nominated a mem-
ber of the Police Board of Fall River
by Governor Douglas. This is a position
in which he will be compelled to still
do the operatives, upon whose backs he
climbed to the place, more harm than
good. The capitalists only give "plums"
to the faithful for services rendered.
Tansey has proven faithful and rendered
services, hence he gets the "plum."

That Morgan should offer the Pope
4 per cent. for the privilege of investing
\$25,000,000 of the latter's funds, in this
country discloses many things. First,
it discloses the rich cream Labor gives
when milked by interest. In order to
give 4 per cent. Morgan must obtain
considerably more. Second, it gives an
inkling into the reasons governing the
Holy Church's defense of Capitalism.
Twenty-five million dollars invested in
the United States alone means many
more millions invested in other coun-
tries as well. The Pope, like all wise
rulers, must distribute his patronage
and favors among his various subjects.
Thus it appears that the Pope's opposi-
tion to Socialism is not as spiritual as
some are inclined to believe. As in the
case of all such opposition, it has a
decidedly material basis.

When the Socialist declares that wage
labor condemns the wage worker to
starvation and slavery, he is pronounced
an extremist. But look at Fall River—
who will not say, after viewing the
situation there, that the Socialist states
the case too mildly? There 25,000 op-
erators struck last July against a 12½
per cent. reduction of wages. They were
compelled to return to work, after be-
ing out six months, under an "arbitra-
tion" agreement which provided that the
Governor should, after investigation de-
cide upon what margin the mill owners
could grant an increase of 5 per cent.
up to April 1 of this year. The Governor
has just rendered his decision. He re-
fuses to make the partial restoration
of wages demanded, on the ground that
profits do not warrant it!

In order to appreciate the force of this
decision, it is necessary to recall the
statement of philanthropists that the
wages paid the operatives are insufficient
to maintain the physical well-being re-
quired by their labor—it is necessary to
further recall that the decrease in wages
has been continuous, and that with it
there has gone a continuous increase in
production—finally, it is necessary to re-
call that the Fall River capitalists have
intimated that wages will have to come
down still more, in order to correspond
with and meet conditions in the South.

Who, upon considering all of the fore-
going, will hold that the Socialist is an
extremist when he declares that wage
labor condemns the wage worker to
starvation and slavery? Who, observing
the facts, will not join the Socialist in
sweeping aside the Douglasses, the Bor-
dens and the Tanseys, and all the other
capitalists and labor fakirs who uphold
this system of wage starvation and slav-
ery? Who, cognizant of the terrible truth,
will not aid the Socialist in abolish-
ing the private ownership of capital on
which this infamous system is based?

LABOR

Is It the Sole Creator of Wealth?—A Minister's Views.

Our friend, the local Socialist, is on
hand again (as all true editorial friends
are), with more "copy." This time his
manuscript contains a criticism of
"Studies in Modern Socialism and Labor
Problems," by T. Edwin Brown, D. D.,
another "impartial," which we, as is
usual with our friend's contributions,
will take up and make our own. To
work, then.

Brown differs greatly from Gladden
and Hill, the other "impartial" of the
decade of 1890-1899 already considered.
His book, published by Appleton in 1886,
reflects a keener intellect, greater erudi-
tion, more argumentative ability and
more unscrupulousness than is evident
in either of their works (!) or both
combined. For this latter defect there
appears a possible cause.

In the preface of his book, Brown,
who was (or is?) a Providence clergy-
man, tenders his thanks to United States
Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, "for the use
of his economic library." This
"United States Senator, Nelson W. Al-
drich," is the same Senator Aldrich who
is famous as the father-in-law of Rocke-
feller, Jr., and "the boss of the United
States Senate," a position which makes
him the political boss of the United
States. Even in 1886, Senator Aldrich
had a political reputation as boss of
Rhode Island, according to Lincoln Stef-
fens, that could only be contemplated
with one's nose in one's hand—it was
so putrid and odoriferous! Every school
boy knows the moral of the story of the
good apples that were spoiled by contact
with the bad ones! Brown's contact
with Aldrich may explain his defect;
though history shows that many a good
politician has been corrupted by divine
doctors.

Brown's lack of scruple appears in his
deliberate misrepresentation of Marx.
Hear him (Chapter VI, "The Errors of
Socialism." Sub-division, "The Labor
Value Fallacy," P. 75-6.)—

"Labor, physical labor, the sole creator
of wealth? No! In our complex indus-
try, there are manifold co-ordinate ele-
ments. When you have poured into the
witch's caldron of production material,
capital, land, invention, oversight,
physical labor, and have stirred them
all up together until they come forth
finished products, who shall measure
accurately the exact proportion which
each has contributed to the final result?
Is labor, physical labor, to say, 'It is all
mine; here or back through the ages, I,
undirected, unorganized, spending all,
and saving nothing, I created all inven-
tion, all oversight; all wealth is due to
me, labor, therefore, to me, labor, all
wealth is due!' Shall labor say this?
Labor has said this. But to make such
a claim is to make a claim wholly ir-
rational, fallacious, unjust. Working-
men ought to rid themselves of this fal-
lacy. They ought to distrust the men
who make parrot-like reiteration of it.
Labor is essential to production; phys-
ical labor is a necessary, inevitable
factor in production. But capital, over-
sight, invention, all the work of head
and heart that goes to improve social
conditions and make them intelligent
and wholesome, have their share in
creation, and must have their full share
in the product. The rights of workmen
are too real and too important to all
social welfare for their assertion to
be based upon a social falsehood."

"Yet upon this notion that labor is
the sole creator of wealth, Karl Marx
built up his whole theory of capital, and
his whole indictment against the cap-
italist class, as the robbers of the just
rewards of Labor."

This is untrue. Nowhere does Marx
claim that "physical labor," or "labor,"
is the sole creator of wealth. Marx is
nothing if not comprehensive. His con-
ceptions of production and labor are all-
inclusive and social. Marx says on P.
10 of "Capital": "Labor is not the
only source of material wealth, of use
values produced by labour. As William
Petty puts it, labor is its father and
the earth its mother." Is this keeping
land out of "the witch's caldron"? Marx
says on P. 6 of "Capital": "The total
labour-power of society, which is em-
bodied in the sum total of the value of
all commodities produced by society,
counts here as one homogenous mass of
human labour-power, composed though
it be of innumerable individual units." Does
that exclude anything that should
have gone into the Rev. Doctor's Shake-
spearian receptacle?

Marx's conceptions of production and
labor being all-inclusive and social, he
logically argues that the commodities
created by social labor applied to land,
should go to the millions of mental and
manual workers of all degrees who con-
stitute society, and not to the few cap-
italists who dominate it. Unlike the Rev.
Dr. Brown he does not contend (1) "In
our complex industry there are manifold
coordinate elements"; therefore (2) they

(Continued on page 8.)



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER
JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—Don't
you think the working class ought to
become revolutionary?

UNCLE SAM—In what respect?

B. J.—That they should lay in a supply
of Winchester repeating rifles.

U. S. (looking disappointed)—Is that
what you consider "revolutionary"?

B. J.—Yes. Isn't that the proper and
only thing to do?

U. S.—No.

B. J.—Do you believe in revolution?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—Are the people not revolution-
ary when they get ready to shoot?

U. S.—See you here. Do you remem-
ber when the traitor Tories in this
country "laid in supplies" of guns?

B. J.—I do; the scalawags.

U. S.—Do you remember when the
copperhead slaveholders "laid in sup-
plies" of guns at the election of Lincoln?

B. J.—I do; I remember, however, in
the North such Bourbon sympathizers
with the Copperheads as August Bel-
mont and the New York Herald did
likewise, and got ready rebel flags to
welcome rebels in New York.

U. S.—These people were all "ready
to shoot," were they not?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Would you say, therefore, they
were "revolutionary"?

B. J.—Hem—er—

U. S.—Let me give you a pointer. The
revolutionary spirit is manifested not by
METHODS, but by AIMS! not by the
HOW, but by the WHAT. Methods are
like alphabets. You can spell bad as well
as good words with the alphabet. Men,
the most reactionary in the world, may
take to their guns and be "ready to
shoot." To determine whether a man is
revolutionary or not, inquire WHAT he
wants, not HOW he wants it.

B. J.—I see.

U. S.—Now, then, what do these
working people want whom you think
should be "laying in supplies of guns"?

B. J.—They want to overthrow mono-
poly.

U. S.—By nationalizing the monopoly?

B. J.—Hem—er—

U. S.—As far as they uttered them-
selves they want to overthrow the large
concentrations of the means of produc-
tion, and restore the old-time system of
small production.

B. J.—Exactly.

U. S.—And that is not REVOLU-
TION, that is REACTION. The system
of small production is antiquated and
unfit for civilization. Civilized man needs
plenty of wealth; plenty of

CORRESPONDENCE

[CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS. BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS, NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.]

AS TO THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—Having taken no part in the "Bulgaria or Italy?" discussion, nor in the Chicago Manifesto, criticisms to date, I am now prompted to give my opinion upon the "fatal principle" of both questions (they really resolve themselves into one), owing to the fear or apprehension expressed in several articles, regarding Comrades Olive M. Johnson and Daniel De Leon's "confessions of faith." Some comrades have even gone so far as to state that these two comrades have virtually abandoned our old Socialist Labor Party principles and tactics, and that if we follow their leadership we will shortly be floundering about without rudder or compass. Now, it seems to me that the comrades who think so have been running the "loyalty" and "no compromise" principle into the ground and are now unable to perceive the difference between the results of a "logical evolution" (which we have to cope with at present), and a reform or compromise movement, such as the "Socialist" party has presented for years past.

To me the Chicago Manifesto is the legitimate offspring of Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance teaching and tactics for the last five or six years. Hampered as our magnificent organization was during the last five years, carrying the heavy financial burdens of the Daily People, the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance could not cover the vast field that was slowly but surely ripening for them throughout the length and breadth of the land. That thousands of good men have been captured by the "Socialist" party fly-paper concern, which really belonged to us, is a matter of fact. Whether these men and women joined the "Socialist" party because no Socialist Labor Party bid was made, or whether they joined the "Socialist" party influenced by the kangaroo outbreak of 1890 or the later kangaroo defection makes no difference as to the fact. Enough for our article is the fact that they are there, getting mighty restless and uneasy, but still they are there. Now the banner of revolt is raised in their own ranks, the illegal position of the "Socialist" party on the trades union question being the entering wedge which had, sooner or later, to drive apart these conflicting elements.

The really revolutionary class-conscious workers of the "Socialist" party are beginning to perceive that the trades union question is really the pivotal question of revolutionary Socialism, and that to compromise on the economic field is even more disastrous to Socialism than a political compromise.

These men have now issued a manifesto calling upon all class-conscious economic organizations to unite in a convention to be held in June in Chicago. A strictly class-conscious economic organization shall be launched "having no affiliation with, or endorsing no political party." In other words, a Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance with a new name, minus the political clause.

Now, suppose the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance delegates to that convention should be so unwise as to try and push through a Socialist Labor Party endorsement, what would be the result? The "Socialist" party men, being no doubt in the majority, would offer a similar resolution for their party, and the entire convention would be merely a fight between two political parties, and the economic organization would be either a "Socialist" party or a Socialist Labor Party kite-tail. Therefore, Comrade De Leon has but again shown his usual foresight in stating frankly and openly his reason for opposing any and all resolutions asking endorsement of a political party. Let the new economic body be formed by all means, and if it voices at this convention all the economic truths that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance stands for, then I say let the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance go up in the new body, for its mission is then fulfilled, and its membership will in the future even more so than in the past (owing to the larger field), have an opportunity for the advancement of Socialism.

Some comrades harp upon the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance endorsement of the Socialist Labor Party as if that were of such vast importance. The act is that endorsement never amounted to anything more than a mere fraternal bond, both the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance being able to stand on their bottom without any endorsements. In fact, the endorsement of the Socialist Labor Party has actually harmed the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, there are a good many men in the

"Socialist" party who for years have opposed the trades union "straddle" of their party, favoring the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, but would not join the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance because of its Socialist Labor Party endorsement.

The new class conscious organization must stand on its own bottom, but as a thoroughly revolutionary membership will and must wield its ballot intelligently to emphasize politically the logical deduction of its economics, it will follow logically and naturally that only a revolutionary political party can ever hope to get its vote.

And now I would ask, which party do you suppose that will be?

Don't deceive yourselves, comrades; the real Socialists of the land are at last going to "get together," and Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and Socialist Labor Party tactics and principles will prevail and dominate the future Socialist movement of this country; and if in exchange for this we have to give up the old names, I say let us give them up: what care we so long as the substance remains?

Consequently, in conclusion I say, instead of the two comrades referred to "losing their moorings," they are getting ready for the "tidal wave" that will put us on new land.

So throw out the life boat and let us all get ready for the voyage.

Fraternally,

Albert Schmutz.

Louisville, Ky., May 8.

II.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—To those who read my first letter on the Chicago Manifesto, this may appear as a sudden change of mind. I am willing to let it pass as such, leaving to my critics, as a criterion to govern them, my present attitude and my former one.

No one can deny that there is a great difference of opinion in the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance as to the position we ought to take at Chicago. We have followed certain tactics in the past, whose purpose has been to force certain conditions on the economic field. We who claim to understand every changing condition must realize the development of things. We can be orthodox to a degree that we may lose sight of the ultimate aim of the goal we seek to reach. The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance stands to-day, as we see it, the height of expression of the working class, economically speaking; but have we a representative who could defend the Alliance principle against the proposed Industrial Union, with its up-to-date chart so plainly set forth by Hagerty; not on paper, but to carry out the plan which is the ultimate organization that is to break the shell of Capitalism?

Comrade Williams asks what is to be done with the Western Federation of Miners? He shows the big white elephant of Butte City, Montana, the Miners' Union—its corruption—and then he shows the superior make-up of the Smeltermen's Union; and there is no doubt but what the smeltermen and the American Labor Union men, have put the proper literature in front of these men. To make my point clear: the Socialist Labor Party succeeded in getting before the American Labor Union convention and they passed a resolution setting forth an amount for class literature; so we see those men clamoring for industrial unionism.

Butte City, with its fakir-led pure and simple union (who were never known to strike) is not the whole of the Western Federation of Miners. Turn the search-light on British Columbia. There we find the Western Federation of Miners staying with the coal miners; and I have to meet the first coal miner who left British Columbia—driven out by the power of Capital—but what will say: "The leaders came into the field with us; and their lives were an open page." Then look at Telluride. The solidarity shown in that strike has never been equalled in any strike in the world. The aristocratic idea of Labor does not obtain: they want a class union.

Recently in this district of the United Mine Workers, since the year is beginning to work, we see some of the pure and simple "labor leaders," Populists and Democrats, saying, "We are industrial unionists." We know that these individuals can no more fill a position on the industrial field, than I could go to the planet Mars.

The question arises, have the Proletariat of America, developed or clarified themselves to the extent that they can launch a union to fight the battles of our class, minus the fakir? This we must battle for. In looking over the field, I am optimistic. I am thoroughly convinced that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance

convention will take another step forward, recognize the true position, put aside all prejudices, and stand for a union based absolutely on the class struggle.

With access to the wage slaves' minds, the future is ours. No one can deny that the only men who have a right to our class minds, are those who recognize what the Industrial Union should be: a union free from fakirs. Strictly disciplined must be the representative men.

Philip Veal.

East St. Louis, Ill., May 14.

OLSON ON THE OUTLOOK.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—It might interest the comrades to know the doings of the undersigned, who is now engaged by the Scandinavian Socialist Labor Party Federation in a three weeks' agitation tour through the New England States. The tour started Wednesday the 10th instant from New York and will end in Boston on Decoration Day. I will then have to return to my nerve-tiring managerial job on our Swedish Party organ, "Arbetearen."

So far I have visited New Haven, New Britain and Hartford, Conn., and Springfield, Mass., and at present I am located at a small industrial city named Gardner, Mass. The Federation has branches of its organization in the three cities I visited in Connecticut. My main work in those places consisted in giving addresses of instruction to the branches. Public meetings were arranged in New Britain and Hartford and both were comparatively successful. The audience paid close attention to my remarks on existing wage slave conditions and the road out of them. Several new members were gained and some literature sold.

The branch in New Haven was not in a very healthy shape owing to lack of activity and proper agitational methods on the part of its members. I pointed out that fact to them and presented a plan of work. If the members recognize that fact and take up the work properly, I shall feel satisfied that my visit to the University City was not altogether devoid of good. The city has a Scandinavian population of about 5,000.

As to New Britain it is estimated that about one-third of the population is Scandinavian. I could hear my mother tongue most everywhere on the street. The city has some immense manufacturing plants, the largest of which, I believe, is the Corbin Lock Co. The wage slave conditions in that factory are those of the veritable hell. No economic organization exists among its wage slaves. The concern, like the Metropolitan Railway in New York, and Brooklyn Rapid Transit Co., will not have it. Wages are, as a consequence, most miserable. The squab-boned pure and simpledom has evidently never made an attempt to erect an organization in Corbin's.

Class conscious industrial unionism will certainly have an important mission on its hands when it arrives at New Britain. Speed the day! must be the silent prayer of the outrageously exploited wage slaves in the Corbin concerns, both men and women and, no doubt, children.

In Springfield, Mass., on the 16th inst., I realized the most gratifying results. The day and evening were rainy and the city, as far as the weather went, was clad in gloom. But the class conscious principles and aims of our movement proved themselves a good heart gladdening substitute in place of the hidden sun. In the evening I addressed for about an hour and a half an audience of Swedes, which fairly well filled a small hall on Main street. I was assisted by Comrade Fred Nagler, who followed me with a short, clear-pointed speech in English, and Comrade J. S. Wallenberg, who acted as chairman. About \$2.00 worth of our literature was sold, a collection of about \$3.00 was taken up, and a Scandinavian branch was organized. The branch, I hope, will be of some value towards strengthening the party's section in the city.

The following day I had the pleasant opportunity of having a talk with Comrade Nagler at his workshop. We unrolled some of the party's past history, and dwelt on its future prospects. We were both bright on the latter point. The June Chicago convention was also an interesting topic and we were both hopeful of its good results. Nagler endorsed Comrade De Leon's stand, as per his statement to the S. T. & L. A. membership towards the convention. Comrade Nagler regrets that he, owing to ill health, cannot be on the party's front firing line.

When I arrived at Springfield I received a postal from the Executive Board Secretary of the Federation, stating that arrangements for a meeting in Gardner had failed, and that I had to enter the city with the Lord in my heart, and hope for his assistance. I did so. I purchased tickets at Worcester for Gardner for us both. I do not yet know what my success will look like.

This letter is already long enough, but there is a point I like to mention.

The most important feature of my tour is the part of instructions to the

members of various branches, in regards to the work. These instructions will be of no use unless carried out by the members. One important item of those instructions was to point out that each and every member should be active, doing something, for each and every one possesses the power to do something, as for instance: Spread of party organs and literature, distribution of leaflets, and so on. Besides, all work should be carried on in the least time consuming and most systematic way. Our party organ agents, particularly, should remember that point.

It is by a highly developed system of work that the capitalist class succeeds each day to extract every particle of use value out of the working class. Wherever we turn our noses we find the same principle. Go in to a large hardware store, for instance, and buy say a hinge. You would be surprised to know how the clerk would know the price of every one of the thousand different articles in the store. And yet it is as simple as simple can be. Somewhere near that particular class of articles hangs a table giving the number, name and price of its different wares.

If we apply the same principle to our work it is sure to be doubly effective. The party sections should figure out how every reader of our party press could be reached as his subscription expires. That would greatly strengthen the power of our press and would tend to increase its circulation.

As far as I have observed on this tour, the field is in first class condition for our propaganda. All we have to do is to apply our revolutionary plow to the ground and we shall gain ground as fast as we pull the plow over it.

To work, comrades, all over the land. On to the front line! The future is ours!

Arvid Olson.

Gardner, Mass., May 18, 1905.

MORE ABOUT THE ELEVATOR MAN.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In the Sunday People of May 14, in the article "More About the Elevator Man," the statement is made:

"They are beginning to realize that something is wrong, and though they have started blindly on the wrong path by organizing a union which, I understand, is to be affiliated with the A. F. of H—I, I hope," and so forth.

Permit me to correct this error. The elevator men are being organized by the American Labor Union, together with the firemen, engineers and other employees in large buildings, that is, on the industrial union plan. The A. L. U. recently struck for the reinstatement of an elevator man and won. Otherwise the article is a good portrayal of conditions.

A Fireman.

New York, May 19.

A VALUABLE SUGGESTION.

To the readers of the Daily and Weekly People:—The time for the proposed industrial union convention draws near, and, without doubt, the large majority of the readers of the Daily and Weekly People would like to know the full proceedings of said convention. Therefore, I recommend that we assist financially the management of the Daily and Weekly People to furnish us with a complete stenographic report of the doings of the convention. Such a report will be of indisputable value to the labor movement. Hoping that this proposition will meet with your approval,

C. A. Luedicke.

Rochester, N. Y., May 17.

Parry's "warnings against the spread of Socialism" voice not only his ignorance of Socialism but also his reactionary fears. The gentleman is worrying more about the movement of the proletariat that will abolish his class than he is about the "tyranny of trades unionism." He sees the handwriting on the wall, and is frantically pursuing a policy that underscores and emphasizes it. As The People said on a former occasion the Parry policy is to be welcomed. Unlike the Easley policy, it does not attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable. It makes the class struggle more pronounced; and, in so doing, it is hastening the day of the final settlement of the conflict between Capital and Labor.

LABOR.

(Continued from page 4.)

should all be the property of the least of those elements, the parasitic capitalists. No, Marx isn't gifted with such divine logic. Marx correctly concludes that those co-ordinate elements should be co-ordinate, or social, property; such is his mental and spiritual perversity! Poor man! It was his misfortune to have never experienced the wholesome influences arising from contact with Senator Aldrich and his economic library!

As "the good book" says: "Sufficient unto the day are the evils thereof." Even these would not have been seen light, were it not that the Rev. Brown's "arguments" are in active service to day. More next week.

LETTER-BOX OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

[NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.]

O. C. S., BUFFALO, N. Y.—There is essentially no difference between the modern well-intentioned philanthropists and the medieval monasteries of charity. The one and the other took a position that amounted to believing that misery could be bailed out of the social ship. That, of course, is an error. The leakage ever was too large for bailing.

ORGANIZER, SECTION HARTFORD, S. L. P.—The matter arrived too late.

"DISGUSTED," NEW YORK.—First: Don't blame your Social Democratic party national committeeman Hilquit for "being disgustingly gentle" towards Berger. Berger only recommended the support of a capitalist candidate for judge, there being no candidate of his own party; but Hilquit, who was then in the Socialist Labor Party, and the party having a full ticket, scratched his party's candidate for judge and voted for the capitalist nominee Goff. It was the S. L. P.'s intolerance, shown by the condemnation of such a thing, that, among other reasons, made the S. L. P. too narrow for the gentleman. Why should he blame Berger for doing not quite so wrongful a thing?

Second: Do not get "disgusted." Place not your conduct at the mercy of freaks and frauds. But wash your hands of them and join the Socialist Labor Party.

H. K., DETROIT, MICH.—Send in the articles. Throw your bread upon the waters, and never look for the return.

N. R. O., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—The notion that, even under Socialism, thrift will ultimately bring back capitalism, inasmuch as some will be inclined to idleness and others to saving, indicates a total misconception of capitalism. Capitalism is a social system under which, whether he be inclined to idleness or not, a toolless man cannot earn his living without selling himself into slave bondage to one who owns the tools. Under such circumstances, the toolless man cannot rise honestly, and remains an exploited slave. This is impossible under Socialism. The tools of production, that is to say, the natural opportunities (land) and the social opportunities (capital) are accessible to all who wish to work, and driven by man's physical needs, he who works will enjoy his full social share: what he gets will not be, cannot be his price in the labor market, leaving the lion's share to a private exploiter. Supposing the case that John is industrious and saving, and Dick inclined to idleness and wastefulness. No doubt, John will have a hoard and Dick be soon empty handed—but, unless Dick is also empty-pated, he never will think of going to John for a job and get skinned \$4 worth of wealth for every \$5 worth that he produces, when he can go to work in the nation's shop and get the full return of his social share. Under Socialism, the same as under Capitalism, the good to work is man's physical and other needs. Under Capitalism, the good drives the toolless man into the slave pen of the tool-holding man, the capitalist; under Socialism, the good drives him to where he can satisfy his wants free from slave conditions. Putting the matter in another way, Capitalism, at best, places into the hands of the thrifty a weapon whereby to oppress his fellowmen, the toolless thrifty as well as the toolless idle. Socialism deprives any man of the power to oppress, by opening to all the opportunity to satisfy their wants.

E. C. HAYES, SECRETARY OUTLOOK COMMITTEE, MONTAGUE, MASS.—First: What tendency, if any, toward Socialism, do we find in our community? A strong tendency. The tendency is so strong that, with many, Socialism has become a sentiment—a mere sentiment against wrong. Under such circumstances, it is next to impossible to estimate the number of conscious Socialists. With this caveat, we would judge the number of Socialists, in this community of New York City, men and women who know what Socialism is, to be between 50,000 and 75,000.

Second: What is the general spirit of the Socialist, altruistic or selfish?—Defining Socialists, as we have defined them above, our answer is: Socialism is no more "altruistic" nor "selfish" than astronomy, and no less "altruistic" nor "selfish" than that, or any other science. In so far as astronomy and all other sciences ennoble and uplift the mind with the inspiring breath of knowledge, astronomy and all other sciences tend to quicken altruistic sentiments; in so far as astronomy and all other sciences tend to promote physical wellbeing, astronomy and all other sciences are selfish. Exactly so with the science of Socialism—it is as altruistic and as selfish as astronomy. All science affects its votaries, hence Socialists are both "altruistic" and "selfish."

What attitude do Socialists take toward the Church?—The attitude dictated upon all honest men if they are intelligent, and all intelligent men if they are honest, by the conduct of the Church, one of whose latest manifestations has been the acceptance of donations coming from such tainted sources as the Rockefellers.

What sort of men are the Socialists?—Men who aim at highest moral perfection, but not as visionaries; they aim at moral perfection as men of sense, who know that there can be no mass morality without physical well-being as its foundation, and who, consequently, seek to uproot the Church-supported system of capitalism that destroys mass well-being, by keeping the wealth producers in the condition of wage-slavery, and the idlers in the condition of wage-slave masters, thereby corrupting society from top to bottom, and to substitute for such a system the now possible Socialist Republic, under which alone mass well-being can be secured, and the basis established for mass morality.

3rd, What are the chief aims of the Socialists?—With the above ultimate aims in view, they seek to overthrow the capitalist class, the same as, at the previous revolution, the capitalist class overthrew the feudal class, "and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

What forms do their activities take?—The forms of agitation, educating and organizing the working class—the successors of the capitalist class in the line of revolutionary descent, or, rather, ascent.

Whether we fear their influence?—This question is fully answered by the previous answers.

CHARLES H. CORREGAN, SYRACUSE, N. Y. and MICHAEL T. BERRY, BOSTON, MASS.—John J. Giblin, 145 Cross street, Lowell, Mass., desires full details on the suits that you initiated against the labor fakirs of your respective Unions, and in which you walloped those outposts of capitalism. Kindly supply him.

C. A. L., ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Excellent is the idea of the Daily People and the Weekly publishing a stenographic report of next month's Chicago Convention. Your call for funds to enable the paper to defray the heavy expenditure of such an undertaking—stenographer and telegraph—will be kept standing.

G. N., NORTH ADAMS, MASS.—The Almanac of Gotha for this year answers: 1st, Japan's navy consists of 80 vessels, 6 of which are battleships of the first class, and 2 of the second class. They carry 1,200 guns.

2nd, The population of Japan, according to the last census, is 48,351,764.

3rd, Japan's legislature consists of two Houses. The upper House of Lords consists of the adult male members of the Imperial household, 13 in number; princes and noblemen 25 years of age and upward elected by their own class, 143 in number; life-members appointed by the Emperor of 30 years and upward, 125 in number; and 45 others elected from districts by notabilities—altogether 366. And a Chamber of Representatives consisting of 379 members, elected for four years, from districts, by all male subjects of 25 years of age and upward, who pay a minimum annual tax of 10 yen (1 yen is equal to a little less than 40 cents.) The tax amounts to about \$4.

H. H. P., LYNN, MASS.—The best and only work on capitalist immorality, corruption and degeneracy their own public press. Like the vulgar crew that they are, their dirty linen ever is washed in public.

F. B., INDIANAPOLIS, IND.—Mr. John Mitchell, Gompers' assistant undertaker, declined the Daily People's tender of its columns for him to answer Randall. These gentlemen believe with Sancho Panza that "it is best not to stir it."

"NEW READER," KANSAS CITY, MO.—There is no truth in J. A. Wayland's claim that he took no part in the Kangaroo riots that split the S. L. P. in 1899. Hunt up the issue of his paper of July 22, 1899. He there has a one-column illustrated article, with the jubilant headlines: "Kicked Out—De Leon and his Gang Fired Bodily from the Socialist Labor Party by Section New York," and the article is followed by an illustrated column of paragraphs on the subject. Headlines, contents of article and paragraph items are ludicrously absurd in their mendacity, malevolence

and idiocy—and all go to show how the man lies when he now claims he did not take sides then, and therefore does not want to take sides now. What he has in mind is that he made an ass of himself then, and is afraid, knowing himself, to repeat the performance, and prefers to ride the fence where he may scrape together coppers from both sides. Don't let him; make that "blazer of Socialism" toe the mark and show his colors.

G. S., NEW YORK.—Be not so hot-headed. The capitalist managers of the Interborough may be trusted to diet the present "scabs" into revolt. They will not be the same men six months from now.

W. E., CINCINNATI, O.—The passage occurs in the oath that cardinals must take at the conclave that elects the new Pope. The language is that they will defend the temporal power of the Pope "even to the shedding of blood" (usque ad effusionem sanguinis).

E. F. J., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Would it surprise you to know that all the "Lapses" articles on the Cigarmakers Union, that appeared in The People at the time, were inspired by J. Mahlon Barnes, now the national secretary of the so-called Socialist party? Would it surprise you still more to know that all the facts therein alleged, and even the title, "Lapses" were furnished by the gentleman?—Well such is the fact. What wires Gompers pulled and what whip he cracked to whip the gentleman back into line, we know not and can only imagine—nor are they hard to imagine.

F. K., NEW YORK.—Correct! It would make a fine campaign fund for the Socialist Labor Party if the money were collected that was paid in postage by the Volkszeitung Corporation A. F. of Hellites for the letters that they have written and caused to be written since the Chicago manifesto in order to poison the minds of certain people against the S. L. P. But the conspiracy methods and intrigues of 1899 will be found even more impotent in 1905.

R. K., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Why, right now, in your own city, the Volkszeitung A. F. of L. is scabbing it on the A. L. U.—this time it is the engineers. The A. L. U. men refused to work 10 hours, and the Volkszeitung boys took their places.

J. E., JERSEY CITY, N. J.—This office has orders from the National Executive Committee to publish no notices of expulsions, except they come through the N. E. C. Your report of the State Executive contains such a notice, and that passage can not be eliminated because it recurs subsequently in other connections. We care not to edit such matter. Communicate with N. E. C. to whom the report has been referred.

F. B., CHICAGO, ILL.—Hyndman's book on "Economics of Socialism" has not been carefully read by us. The passages that we have looked over are sound and correct—but infinitely weaker than they can be found in Marx's works. One positively has no time to read all these theoretic books written by men who seek to popularize Marx, but who, having no practical knowledge of the movement, rather dilute Marx than promote his understanding.

B. A. L., CHICAGO, ILL.—Simons and Unterman have come to an inglorious end. Their guns are silenced. It was one of those inscrutable ways of Providence to suction them on the list of signers of the Manifesto. They themselves attended to the rest.

TO CONTRIBUTORS ON CHICAGO MANIFESTO—Received: C. H. R. Lida, Nev.

TO PARTY MEMBERS AND FRIENDS IN ALL LANDS—Kindly furnish this office with Preambles and Constitutions of your Union. As complete a set as possible is desired in this office.

W. S. J., LONDON, ENG.—Reports of 1900 convention can be had at Labor News Co.; 50 cents paper; \$1 cloth.

F. W. B., BOSTON, MASS.—The article will appear in the Weekly People of June 3.

E. J. DULUTH, MINN.; F. C., NEW YORK; D. L. D., CHICAGO; "X", FARBULT, MINN.; J. H. DENVER, COLO.; E. S., ST. CHARLES, MO.; J. D. R., TOPEKA, KANS.; T. F. R., COLLINSVILLE, ILL.; F. D., MUNCIE, IND.; A. H., LONDON, CANADA; T. D. B., CHICAGO, ILL.; J. D. G., CLEVELAND, O.; D. E. A., MANCHESTER, ENG.; M. O'C., WORCESTER, MASS.; D. A. W., NEW ORLEANS, LA.; F. W. HARTFORD, CONN.; M. R., HOLYOKE, MASS.; C. C. C., PLEASANTVILLE, N. Y.; A. G. B., DETROIT, MICH.; G. W. T., ELMIRA, N. Y.; A. O., NEW YORK CITY—Matter received.

